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AN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE TEXT AND INTRODUCTION,

BY CHAMPOLLION-FIGEAC AND AIMÉ CHAMPOLLION, FILS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH, AND EDITED, WITH CORRECTIONS AND NOTES,

BY

SIR FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., F.R.S., M.R.I.A.,

KEEPER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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PART III.

LATIN WRITING OF MODERN EUROPE.

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

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§ 1. ROMAN, LOMBARDIC, AND GOTHIC WRITINGS OF ITALY.

PLATE CXXXV.

CURSIVE LATIN WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

TESTAMENTARY CHARTER OF RAVENNA.

THE text represented in the Plate belonging to the present article, is one out of a number of pages or columns written on a roll of papyrus, supposed to have been originally more than twenty feet long, but of which eight pages only remain. The first of these, to which was attached the commencement of the roll, is imperfect at the left-hand side; the second is here represented; and the six which succeed are of much greater extent, the last being terminated by the final formula, and the names of the assisting functionaries, written in a gigantic, but finely-executed character, and consisting only of six lines, whilst all the rest have thirteen. The total length of the roll in its present state is about nineteen feet, four inches, and its width is above three feet.

The Church of Ravenna being alluded to in this document, it is supposed to have been brought from thence in 1512, when that city was ravaged by the French. It was found in 1750 among the effects of a goldsmith of Paris, named Galle, whose widow presented it to the Bibliothèque Royale, where it has since remained.

About the same period it was proposed to publish it, and

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it was engraved on seven copper-plates, which were not, however, used. These plates having been discovered in the Museum of the Louvre by M. Champollion Figeac, he obtained an impression from them, which was immediately transferred to lithographic stones, and he was enabled by that means to publish, for the first time, a fac-simile of the whole in 1837, in the *Collection de Chartes Latines sur papyrus appartenant à la Bibliothèque Royale.*

The entire text contains five official records of the opening of so many testaments, at the request of the executors, before the magistrate of Ravenna, in the presence of the protectors of the Church of that city, who were interested in these proceedings. The most ancient of these testaments is of the year 474; that of Flavius Constantius, a dyer, is dated A.D. 521*; and the most recent, made by George, a silk-merchant, the son of Julian of Antioch, is of the year 552. This being the latest date in any portion of the roll, it is certain that we have before us an invaluable specimen of the cursive or diplomatic Roman writing of the middle of the sixth century. The following is the reading of the first two lines in the Plate, which are incomplete on the left-hand side, and somewhat mutilated on the right.

(line 1.) [*Ex*] *num. in l. p. o. sanus, sana mente integroque . . . c*[*onsi*]*l*[*io*].

(line 2.) [*qui suscribtu*]*ri vel signaturi sunt in h*[*ac*] *cartula testamentum.*

The resemblance of this writing to that of the Imperial Rescript figured in Plate XCVIII., which is certainly of the third or fourth century, will furnish some useful observations founded on the similarity or disagreement of the characters in these two documents. Four of the letters, in fact, are alike in both, namely, the *i*, *l*, *g*, *o*, but all the rest are totally dis-

* The MM. Champollion state this date erroneously A.D. 480.—ED.

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similar. In the Imperial Rescript, none of the letters approach the forms of the Roman capitals, except the *v*; the *a* resembles an Italic *T*; *r* and *t* come near to the same forms; *b* and *d* are alike, the bow of the letter *b* being towards the left, like that of the *d*, but the basal stroke, which is rounded in the *d*, is broken in the *b*; *m* and *n* have the Greek forms μ and ν; *e* resembles a very narrow 8, lengthened and looped at the top; *s* is like the cursive *ſ*, with a loop, but not reaching above the level of the line; o is always very small, and either placed in the middle, or near the top of the line; *p* is composed of a long stroke, at the summit of which a *c* is attached; the *c* resembles the *l* and *ſ* of the same text, being distinguished only by having a terminal rounded stroke, bent inwards, and broken in the middle of its height. The writing, moreover, is very much conjoined, not only in the letters, but also in the words, according to the fancy of the scribe.

In the Charter of Ravenna there is more of the Roman capital writing, which may be easily recognised in the letters *n, u, m, i, e, s, c, h, l, b, p, q, o, d*, and one form of *t*; and as to the letters *a, r, g, t*, and some ligatures, such as *ri, te*, we find in them the original types of the Lombardic writing of the eighth and following centuries, so common in charters of real Lombardic origin, and in the acts of the Pontifical chancery.

Are the evident differences which exist between these two specimens of Latin cursive writing the result of their different dates alone, or must not their locality be taken also into consideration? This inquiry will be discussed elsewhere.

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PLATE CXXXVI.

MINUSCULE LOMBARDIC WRITING.

VIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

THE HISTORY OF PAULUS OROSIUS, IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY AT MUNICH.

ALTHOUGH the works of Orosius do not rank among those productions of the Latin writers which are considered as classical, yet a great number of manuscript copies of his writings are in existence, written in every period of the debased Latin era, many of which are of venerable antiquity, and amongst the most precious palæographical monuments. The nature of the works of Orosius and of his religious doctrines, furnish evidently the cause of this predilection.

He was a Christian priest, a Spaniard by birth, distinguished for his eloquence and erudition; and he undertook a work against the Pagans, who affirmed that Christianity had caused the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Anxious to extirpate the heresies then prevalent in Spain, he crossed over to Africa to consult St. Augustine on the origin of the soul, who sent him to St. Jerome, then at Bethlehem, in Syria. On his return to the west of Europe, he brought with him the relics of St. Stephen, the first martyr, then recently discovered, and employed himself in the composition of his *Histories*, in seven books, embracing, according to his calculation, a space of 5617 years, *i. e.*, from the commencement of the world to A.D. 416. The numerous and discordant facts which fill up the annals of the various nations of the East and West during this long term of years, and, for the most part, mutually unknown to each other, were attempted

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to be reduced by Orosius into a sort of system of historical unity, subordinate to that Supreme Will which, in all ages and places, punishes mankind for their misdeeds, not even excepting Rome itself, which, for its crimes, was then delivered up to the Goths under Attila.

This pious historical system of Orosius recommended his work, and hence the care with which his writings were multiplied in after ages in the Christian convents. Copies, in fact, exist of the work of Orosius of the very highest antiquity, and among them is a considerable portion written upon vellum in long lines, and in a fine Gallican uncial character, of the sixth or seventh century.

One of the editors of the works of Orosius, Sigebert Havercamp, who, in 1738 consulted the manuscripts of that writer in the Laurentian library at Florence, gave a fac-simile of the writing of the most ancient, which he considered to be at least 1000 years old, and its writing Lombardic, although it is, in reality, semi-uncial, mixed with some minuscules, as may be seen by another fac-simile from the same manuscript, published by Mabillon, who classes it among the Roman writings of the second age, "*Scriptura Romana secundæ ætatis.*" (*De Re Diplomatica*, pp. 352, 354, No. 5, p. 355, No. 8.) This Florence manuscript of Orosius is attributed to the eighth century, and a manuscript at Munich, but little inferior to it in date, has furnished the present fac-simile.

It is a volume written on vellum, much taller than wide, the execution of which is, in all respects, satisfactory. It is written in lines across the page, placed at equal distances apart, and the titles distinguished by fine majuscule letters, as in the words INCIPIT LIBER IIII., written in square uncial capitals, dilated at the base, and truncated in circumflex. A smaller uncial character indicates the end of the preceding book.

The text of the manuscript is written in a massive

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Lombardic minuscule, approximating to the Merovingian. The letters are of equal size, detached, and nearly upright, with the words divided. The *r* partakes of the Anglo-Saxon form; the *a* is open; the *y* dotted; N has the uncial form; *e* and *t* are united into *&*, both as part of a word, or isolated; the letters are often conjoined in the syllables, but not in the words, and the punctuation is according to the rules of the times; the conjunction of *n* and *t* is remarkable, but that of *s* and *t* is of the ordinary kind*; and we read *jubavit* for *juvabit*, *Machedonici* for *Macedonici*, and *Pyrri* for *Pyrrhi*.

The commencement of the fourth book is as follows :—

"Dixisse Aenean Vergilius refert, cum post pericula sua suoru[*m*]que naufragia residuos aegre socios solaretur, Forsitan, *etc.*

A translation of Orosius into Anglo-Saxon was made by King Alfred the Great in the ninth century, but the work does not appear to have been translated into French before the fourteenth century; at all events, the translation ascribed to Claude de Seyssel† cannot be considered as the earliest.

This fine manuscript of Munich is generally attributed, and with justice, to the eighth or ninth century.

* The French editors do not notice the singular conjunction of the *r* and *t*, which is an early instance of a practice very prevalent in the tenth and eleventh centuries.—Ed.

† But falsely so ascribed, as appears by the remarks of M. Paulin Paris, *Manuscrits François*, tom. ii. p. 121, 8vo. 1838.—Ed.

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PLATE CXXXVII.

CURSIVE LOMBARDIC WRITING.

VIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

MORGINCAP, OR MORNING (NUPTIAL) DONATION.

THE Lombardic Charter in the Plate is one of the most ancient diplomatic documents of this kind. The original exists in the archives of the monastery of the Holy Trinity of La Cava, near Naples; and the perfect preservation of such a document to our times is owing to various circumstances, all of public note.

The monastery of La Cava is one of the earliest establishments of the Benedictine order, situated at the top of a mountain, surrounded by woods, long destitute of roads, and scarcely accessible. This monastery has been little visited, and during its long and tranquil existence, its archives have increased in the course of centuries, until they have become one of the richest and most precious depositories of ancient documents in existence, preserved and arranged in the best order, as testified by all who have penetrated to this pious retreat, and recorded by Mabillon, who visited the monastery of La Cava during his travels in Italy.

It is not surprising, therefore, that amongst its archives there should be found a number of the diplomas of the Lombardic Kings, who, for nearly four centuries, were masters of Italy, and who, following the example of their subjects, both respected and endowed the Christian churches; whilst the laws which these princes established, preserved, with certain modifications, all the principles of public order and good policy established by the ancient laws of Italy. Of what is

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here advanced, the Charter, of which a fac-simile is now given, is a sufficient proof.

It is an act of donation, made before a notary. Alderis, the son of Aldefus, living at Forino, being about to marry Contrada, the daughter of Roderis of Nucera, deceased, grants to his wife, on the morning after their nuptials, with the advice and consent of his father, and in the presence of his relations and friends, one-fourth part of all his immovable goods which would descend to him according to the Lombardic laws, with power to dispose of it at her own will.

This Charter, not being a royal document, has more simple *formulæ*. The first words, which are greatly abridged, are the ordinary invocation :—*In̄m Dn̄i* [*nomine Domini*]. The words following, *quinto anno principatus domni nostri viri gl̄si* [*gloriosi*] *Grimoaldi, summos dux gentis Langabardorum,* [*mense octubri, indictione prima,*] furnish the precise date of the document, namely, the month of October, A.D. 791 (first indiction); Grimoald III., Prince of Benevento, having, in A.D. 787, succeeded his father Arigisus, who had obtained the title of Prince from Charlemagne, with whom he had previously been at war. The date of the Charter entirely accords with the usage of the Lombard princes adopted in private charters, which only date from the year of their reigns, with the addition of the indiction.

The Latinity of the Charter is such as might be expected from a Lombardic notary of the period,—negligent and barbarous :

(line 3.) *Ideo quem ego Alderis, una cum consilio et boluntate Aldofus, genitori meo havitaturi loci forino.*

The notary's name is Ursus, to whom Alderis dictates his intentions. The act is, in fact, worded as if drawn up by the donor himself, and terminates with these words :—*Te, Ursus notarius, scribendum rogavimus.* The notary has, nevertheless, not signed the document, which is signed first

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by Alderis in these terms :—*Signum* † *manus Alderissi, viro ejus, et Aldefusi, genitore, et consentientes hanc cartula morgincaput commanter fieri rogavimus.* Alderis only makes the sign of the cross, which is followed by the attestation of many witnesses, among whom are two females, who also add *me teste* to their names. The word *morgincaput* (line 7) explains the special nature of this deed, in connexion with the words (lines 5 and 6) *in alia die nuptiarum.* We have therefore here an instance of the celebrated donation termed *morgincap*, and *morgengab* by the ancient Franks, and so called, because it was made in the morning after the wedding. It is more commonly called *chartula libelli dotis*, or *libellus dotis*, which the notary has written *hellibellum* (line 12). We see by this document, that the Frankish name and custom were equally in use among the Lombards in Italy in the eighth century.

The writing of this curious deed (of which about two-thirds are represented) is Lombardic, both as to its origin and use. We may remark, however, on comparing it with other specimens, that it approaches to the Merovingian form. The ligatures are very numerous, arising from the efforts of the scribe to render it as expeditious as possible. As to the Latin, it is not more rude than that of the charters of the French monarchs of the same period.

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PLATES CXXXVIII., CXXXIX.

LOMBARDIC DIPLOMATIC WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

BULLS OF POPE JOHN VIII. TO THE MONASTERY OF TOURNUS.

RESPECTING the cursive Lombardic diplomatic character, we can only repeat what has been said respecting manuscripts executed in minuscule letters of the same sort, namely, that the term Lombardic is here used to designate an epoch, and not the inventors of this species of writing. The Lombardic tribes who inundated Italy, were unlettered; they attacked a civilization still powerful, without being able to teach it anything; and when settled in Italy, they acquired the use of letters, as well as the principles of policy and civil order. We may, indeed, apply to them the words of Horace, in speaking of conquered Greece, who gave her arts to her barbarous Latin conquerors. Custom, however, has prevailed, and the name Lombardic is applied to the kind of writing generally used in Italy from the sixth to the eleventh century. The minuscule writing of the same style even survived the diplomatic, and lasted, in some instances, until the thirteenth century at least.

Two fine specimens of diplomatic writing from two Papal Bulls are here exhibited, and other examples will appear in the diplomas of Italy of a later period, but gradually altered and complicated, devoid of elegance and illegible, until it was wholly replaced by the Caroline writing, which became rapidly disseminated over all the countries where the Romish ritual was in use.

In the best days of Rome we find a writing of perfect

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elegance, and the justest proportions; these were subsequently lost, and the letters became wider at the expense of height; a mixture of letters of different kinds still further altered the ancient types; at a later period minuscules and cursive letters were intermingled with the majuscules; and at length the decay was completed in the fifth century, under the influence of the Goths, Visigoths, Lombards, Anglo-Saxons, and Franks. This degradation was aided also by the use of a large cursive Roman hand, which increased in size until the renovation of writing under Charlemagne.

Christian Rome did not escape the general contagion; the fine models of classical antiquity constantly before her eyes did not prevent the downfall of taste; and the Popes adopted the general usage, with the desire, however, to distinguish themselves, as they best might, in matters of art.

The specimen in the first Plate is one of the finest extant. This large Lombardic writing is of very unusual proportions; the tall top-strokes and tails form long vertical lines, not looped, the former sometimes clavate, and the latter always pointed. This writing is round, and the letters seldom conjoined; the uncial form of the V is seen, and the letters *e*, *t*, *g*, *ri*, and *l* (resembling *b*) are also worthy notice. The facsimile reads thus:—

Joh[anne]s ep[iscopus] serv[us] servor[um] d[e]i. Geiloni inclito abbati, dilectisque filiis nostris in Tornutio monasterio, a spirituali filio nostro glorioso Karolo, imperatori augusto.

This is the heading of the Bull of Pope John VIII. confirming the privileges granted by Charles le Chauve to the abbey of Tournus*, which is dated at Rome, on the ides of October, in the first year of the same Charles, crowned Emperor, the 10th indiction, which corresponds with October 13,

* A Benedictine monastery in the diocese of Châlons, Burgundy.—Ed.

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A. D. 876. No mention is made either of the year of the pontificate or of that of the Greek emperor, or of the era of the incarnation.

In this paragraph the name of the Pope is placed at the beginning, and that of the Emperor is incidentally mentioned; yet on all occasions John VIII. treated the Frankish emperors as well as the empress, with the most marked attention, employing the plural in speaking of them. This Bull also proves, that with the title of Bishop, John VIII. took that of *Servus Servorum Dei*, and that in lieu of the formula *in perpetuum*, he substituted that of *nunc et futuris temporibus*, which terminates the heading. He styles Geilo *inclitus Abbas*, and the Emperor *gloriosus Imperator Augustus*.

This magnificent Bull is written on Egyptian papyrus, and fills a roll two feet wide by twelve in length; the lines are very wide apart, which singularly increases the grand appearance of this document*.

The second Plate, although taken from a document of the same kind, is more simply executed. There are no large letters in the heading; the lines are only so far apart as is required by the massive writing, the tall top-strokes of which are clavate, and sometimes obliquely truncated, and the tails either pointed or cut off diagonally. The text is punctuated, and the initial letters of the paragraphs are majuscules. The heading is addressed to Charles le Chauve, *spirituali filio nostro glorioso Karolo, Imperatori Augusto*, and to Geilo, the Abbot of Tournus. The *o* in the form of *w* is remarkable, and the *a* takes the form of the Roman minuscule **a**. This act is of the year 877.

* Both the Bulls here specified, were published entire in fac-simile by M. Champollion-Figeac, in fasc. 1–3 of his *Chartes Latines sur papyrus*, etc., 1835, 1840.—Ed.

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PLATE CXL.

DIPLOMATIC LOMBARDIC WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

CONTRACT OF SALE. DIPLOMA OF PRINCE RADELCHIS.

We have united in one Plate two specimens of Lombardic writing, on account of the similarity in the forms of their letters, and the short period which intervened between their respective dates.

The first is a Contract of sale between private parties, executed in presence of a notary; and the second is a diploma or Charter, by which one of the Lombard princes of Italy, of the Benevento dynasty, gave to a monastery the property of a rebel which had been confiscated.

A careful comparison of these two specimens exhibits evident differences between them, not indeed in the principles which constitute this peculiar kind of writing, but in the use which the two scribes have made of these principles.

The writing of the upper specimen is much more regular than of the lower one; both are, nevertheless, alike heavy, with numerous top-strokes, excessively elongated, and always looped at top, when they are not clavate; the letters are conjoined together, and the words not divided; but the second specimen has also the tails equally elongated as the top-strokes, and bold dashes of the pen and ornamental strokes are abundant, the result of which is, that the royal notary, in giving a more elegant character to this document of sovereign authority, especially in the wide spaces between the lines, has rendered it more illegible than if written by an ordinary scribe.

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This excess of ornament must be regarded as a deformity, since it renders the document more difficult to be read; and as there is the interval of half a century between the dates of these two charters, it would appear that at this period the ancient authority of the Lombard kings, (whose successors were reduced to the rank of princes, and divided into two houses, those of Benevento and Salerno,) was on the decline, in its struggle in the wars against the Empire and against France; and two centuries afterwards, notwithstanding the assistance received from the Saracens and the Greeks, it gave place to the Norman lords, who had made themselves kings of Sicily. It is, therefore, not surprising that the national writing should have been gradually debased by the addition of false ornaments, till at last the excess of the evil brought its own remedy.

We have been enabled to compare together accurate tracings of several Lombardic documents, with certain dates, preserved in the monastery of La Cava. In the year 900, the writing, similar to that of the two charters before us, is far more deformed, slender, small, bent, conjoined, continuous, and illegible; in 984, it had become still smaller, round, upright, proportioned, and scarcely conjoined, with the words almost divided, and having the appearance of the fair Roman minuscule of manuscripts; in 1025 and 1059 it is perfect, well-proportioned, the words separate, and punctuated, with majuscules for the initials of the paragraphs, but still preserving its gigantic top-strokes; with few abbreviations, and those of the most ordinary kind. In the following century the characteristic features of the Lombardic writing have almost entirely disappeared, and are replaced by the cursive writing generally used in other countries, with those endless variations produced by the diversity of scribes, at that time busily engaged both upon public and private documents.

The specimens in the Plate may, therefore, be considered

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as exhibiting the middle state of Lombardic writing, and in the present section of our work are given several more of the finest and most ancient examples of it.

The commencing lines of the first specimen are to be read: *Inm dni* [*nomine Domini*], *undecimo anno do* [*Deo*] *propitium principatu domni Grimualdi . . . . . .* [*Langobardorum*] *principi, mense Octubrius, decima ind*[*ictione*]. The simplicity of the invocation is remarkable, consisting of three words, which are the same in all private acts executed before a notary. In the present deed, Roppolo, son of the deceased Tremod, sells to Bom, clerk, son of Giudell, a piece of land; and the deed is executed in the eleventh year of the reign of Grimoald IV., in the month of October, indiction X.; corresponding with October, 817 of the Christian era; Grimoald IV. being the second successor of Arigisus II., recognized as prince of Benevento by Charlemagne.

In the second charter the protocol is in the style of a prince, and the invocation in the first line is complete:—

† *Inm dni di Salv*[*atoris*] *nri* [*nostri*] *Ihu Xpi. concessim*[*us*] *nos vir glrs* [*gloriosus*] *Radelchis, di* [*Dei*] *providentia Langobard*[*orum*] *gentis princeps, p*[*er*] *rogum Ajonis,* etc.

Such is the ordinary formula of the public documents of the Lombardic princes, in which they take the title of *vir gloriosus*, or *gloriosissimus*. In 849 the title only of *magnus princeps* was given to Sicon; and in 899, Gaimar, prince of Salerno, styled himself *imperialis patricius;* but in 1088, Gisulfus took the title of *gloriosus et eximius princeps.* The Norman dukes assumed the entire principality of the Two Sicilies.

The date of this diploma is given according to the years of the reign of the prince of Benevento, and this practice remained subsequently in use for at least two centuries; the date according to the Christian era having been adopted only

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about the year 1070, and was probably introduced by the Normans, who took with them a custom which had been in general use in France ever since the commencement of the second race of monarchs.

By this diploma, Radelchis (A. D. 840—851) gives to the abbot Ragenald all the possessions of Lambajar, together with the serfs of both sexes, confiscated according to law, *pro ejus culpa;* and the notary Theodoric wrote this *præceptum concessionis, ex jussu supradicte potestatis.*

PLATE CXLI.

LOMBARDIC AND UNCIAL WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

LATIN BIBLE OF THE MONASTERY OF LA CAVA.

THE volume from whence the present fac-simile is taken is one of the most ancient*, most varied in style, and most elegant monuments of the period assigned to the Lombardic writing, which subsequent to the sixth century succeeded the ancient Italo-Gothic, proceeding from the small Roman hand, of which it was but a variation in some of the characters. It is a fine Latin Bible, written upon vellum, nearly of a square form, with three columns in a page, and in the best state of preservation. There are but very few ornaments. Two of the titles of the chief divisions are represented in the Plate, inclosed within narrow borders, floreated at each angle.

* It scarcely can be said to merit this praise, since (exclusive of many other instances that might be adduced) a specimen has been given in the present work, of Lombardic writing of the *seventh* century, but, having been mistaken for *Saxon*, it is placed erroneously among the series of Plates illustrative of the latter kind of writing, in Part IV. See Plate CCXV.—ED.

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These titles are written in tall, close, conjoined, uncial letters, sometimes inclosed within each other, with tall top-strokes, terminating in a volute. The letter H is of singular form, being written like K. The left-hand title is to be read, EXPLICIT IOHEL PROPHETA. INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN AMOS PHPTA [PROPHETAM]. The other is, EXPLICIT SAMUHELIS LIB[E]R SECUNDUS. INCIPIUNT CAPITULE MALACHIM LIBRI TERTII. In these two titles the words are alternately written in red and black. This variety is greater in other parts of the manuscript, particularly when the prologues are written on purple vellum, when the colors are alternately red, green, yellow, white, and black.

The text placed beneath the title on the left-hand, is the commencement of the prologue of St. Jerome on the book of the prophet Amos. This prologue is written in an admirable semi-uncial character, or uncial mixed with some minuscules, the first words of which are in red; the text is correct, and presents but very few abbreviations. In the last line but one the letter *h* is transversely barred, and should be suppressed. The sentences are distinguished by some marks of punctuation.

Another kind of semi-uncial, but much more mingled with minuscules, appears in the eight corresponding lines in the opposite column, being the commencement of the Summary of the chief occurrences in the Third Book of Kings; but this summary, which would appear to indicate eight chapters, only extends to chapter iv., v. 7, according to the actual division in the Vulgate text. These Summaries (which appear peculiar to this manuscript) are in a sloping semi-uncial hand, with the top-strokes much elongated, clavate, and bent towards the left. The *h*, at the commencement of each line, is terminated at the top in a volute, and some of the letters are conjoined; a species of writing of great rarity in manuscripts. The first line is written in red, (as are also the numerals,) and is to be read:—*I. Hubi Bethsabeæ David hadorat pro Salomone, hut*

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regnet. The letter *h* is singularly abundant in this manuscript, and forms a striking feature in it.

A gigantic F, ornamented with arabesques and volutes, forms the initial letter of another part of the fac-simile, containing the first four verses of the First Book of Kings. The five lines at the beginning are written in a semi-uncial character, smaller than the preceding, but extremely elegant, with the words not divided. It commences, FUIT VIR HUNUS, etc., and is easily to be read, allowance being made for the introduction of the *h* before all words beginning with the vowels *u*, *e*, etc. The remainder of the text is written in an admirable Lombardic minuscule, small, close, and of great elegance, with long clavate top-strokes, and the words not divided; with a mixture of some Merovingian or Saxon letters, and characterized by the forms of the *a*, *t*, *s*, *e*, *f*, and by some conjoined letters. The first lines read, *Et habuit duas huxores, nomen huni Hanna, et nomen secunde Fenenna; fueruntque Fenennae filii, etc.* There is no punctuation, except at the end of sentences, where a blank space follows the terminal dot.

The opposite specimen has for its title, written in red, in very careful, small, semi-uncial characters, HIC PSALMUS PROPRIAE SCRIPTUS IN DAVID, EXTRA NUMERUM, QUUM PUGNARET ADVERSUS GOLIAM SOLUS. The first lines of the psalm, in Lombardic minuscule, similar to that above described, are to be read, *Pusillus heram inter fratres meos, et hadulescentior in domo patris mei.* This is an apocryphal psalm, not found in the Vulgate, but is added to the canonical psalms as the 151st, the Greek text of which has also been preserved*. In the manuscript before us this psalm is written *per cola et commata*, that is to say, it is distributed into *alineæ*, and not into verses, but according to the sense of the phrases, so that the reading is thereby regulated as well, as if it had been punctuated.

* *Bible des Septante*, in Greek and Latin, *Collection des Classiques Grecs*, by MM. Firmin Didot, tom. ii. p. 766.

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The Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, and nearly all the Canticles, are written in the same manner in this volume. Some of the books are upon purple vellum. All these circumstances combine to render this manuscript one of the most remarkable, precious, and ancient books in existence. It is, at least, of the ninth century, and some critics refer it even to the eighth.

PLATE CXLII.

CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE SAXON-LOMBARDIC WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

COMMENTARIES OF ST. AUGUSTINE ON THE PENTATEUCH.

THE Pentateuch, written by Moses, has been the subject of a great number of commentaries. Christian writers of various sects, especially those of the Greek and Latin Church, have employed their talents upon these sacred texts, amongst whom St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, holds a distinguished place.

The manuscript which has furnished the fine fac-simile given in the accompanying Plate, contains the Commentaries of St. Augustine on the Pentateuch, and is a folio volume, written on vellum, belonging to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, (No. 738,) which was formerly in the celebrated abbey of St. Germain des Près, and at an earlier period formed part of the ancient library of Corbie, a catalogue of the manuscripts of which, drawn up in the twelfth century, is still in existence*. The Plate represents the first page of the

* *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. iii. p. 230, *n.*

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manuscript, which is remarkable for the luxury of its ornaments and variety of the writing which it contains, consisting of capitals of different kinds, and minuscule writing mingled with cursive, the whole ornamented with great elegance.

The first word consists of the gigantic letters IN, the height of which equals the space required for the three adjoining lines in large majuscules; the fourth line is in still larger letters, and these four lines, together with the five beneath, compose the words, IN D[E]I NOMINE INCIPIUNT QUESTIONES GENESIS BEATI AUGUSTINI IN EPTATICUM. The gigantic letters are ornamented with interlaced work, foliage, marqueterie, and the bodies and heads of quadrupeds and beaks of birds. The first letter I terminates below in a point; a griffin, adorned with embroidered bands, forms a superfluous tail-piece to the first stroke of the N, the two upright strokes of which are broad and interlaced; the second line, formed of the word NOMINE, consists of letters in outline, colored; the third is composed of massive black strokes, upon a ground of various colors in compartments; the syllables forming the fourth line exhibit a remarkably-formed U, conjoined with N and T; the fifth and seventh lines resemble the third, and the eighth and ninth are like the second; the sixth differing from these only in the larger size of the letters, divided in the middle by a double cross-bar. The middle bar of the E terminates in a triangle, and the whole of these majuscules have the summits and bases of the strokes dilated. Such are the chief peculiarities of this singular and richly illuminated page, in which the artist has shewn the utmost caprice of his art. We here see the Roman majuscule slightly altered by the introduction of specialities, which distinguish it from all the other varieties of capitals derived from the Roman types, and modified according to the taste of each of the countries of Latin Europe. These specialities belong to the mixed Saxon-Lombardic style, sufficiently regular, massive, and con-

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joined; the S having the form of a reversed Z; the C and G rectangular; the letters N and C conjoined in the third line; and the whole varied with patches of colors.

The six lines of text in minuscule writing, at the foot of the Plate, are taken from the thirty-sixth page of the manuscript, and present a specimen equally singular for the investigation of the palæographer. Its general appearance is regular and pleasing, but the letters when analyzed render it doubtful to which species of writing it should be referred, whether to the minuscule or the cursive; the letters, however, are for the most part isolated, the cursive ligatures being confined to certain letters often repeated, such as *ri, es, et, tum, tr.*

We have also to decide between the Franco-Gallic minuscule of the Merovingian period, previous to the renovation of letters under Charlemagne, (and which was only the continuation of the Romano-Gallican,) and the Lombardic minuscule, properly so called. Various kinds of Gallican writing have, in fact, a Lombardic aspect, which may deceive the judgment, but the minuscule before us has all the characteristic marks of the writing termed that of the Lombards, by whom, however, it was not invented.

We have here, therefore, a fair specimen of Lombardic* minuscule writing, allied to the cursive, with the words not divided, and conjoined in various letters; the tall up-strokes clavate, the tails pointed, with some superfluous strokes, and with capital letters at the beginning of the sentences; $\bar{u}$ is written for *um;* the *a* is open above and below, as in Merovingian writing; the *e* with a cedilla, for *æ; intellegitur* for *intelligitur.* The first four lines, being the commencement of the commentary of St. Augustine, are to be thus read:—

Quid est, quod dicit Jacob socero suo, decepisti mercedem meam decem agnabus? Hoc enim quando et quomodo factum sit, scriptura non narrat.

* It is called *Saxon* on the Plate, by error of the engraver.—Ed.

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Sed utique factum est, quod iste commemorat. Nam dixit hoc et uxoribus suis, quando eas vocavit in campum. Conquerens enim de patre illarum, ait, *etc.*

PLATE CXLIII.

BROKEN LOMBARDIC WRITING.

X^TH CENTURY.

THE TREATISE DE TEMPORIBUS OF VENERABLE BEDE.

Bede, born in the county of Durham, in A.D. 672,* and who is styled The Venerable, from the reputation of sanctity which is attached to his memory, was one of the most learned men of his age, notwithstanding its disadvantages. After having for a long period cultivated literature in solitude, and meekly instructed the young religious brethren of the monastery in which he served God, he completed, at the age of sixty years, the best known of his numerous works, the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation;* a composition filled alike with truth and error, in which the most accredited legends of the age (but not on that account the less absurd) were mingled with a wonderful knowledge of facts, unequalled at that period. Besides this work, Bede composed a great number of philosophical and religious treatises, in which his piety, science, and modesty, are equally conspicuous. Numerous homilies are also extant by this fruitful, simple, but inelegant Latin writer, which were read by him to his Christian auditors; his fame, however, chiefly rests upon his Ecclesiastical History, which was consulted, abridged, and copied by the scribes of subse-

* More correctly, A.D. 674. See Stevenson's Introduction to Bede's Eccl. Hist. p. vii. *n.* 8vo. 1838.—Ed.

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quent times, and which is placed at the head of his writings in the general collection of his works printed at Paris, in 1544.

Chronology, or the science of time, considered with reference to sacred history, was a favourite subject in the days of Bede. The Christian era, or the computation of years for social purposes from the period of the birth of Christ, was introduced at first in Italy, whence it was established in France, subsequent to the reign of Pepin. This innovation was a subject of deep study among the philosophers of those times, among whom Bede held the highest place. He therefore composed a Treatise on Time (*De Temporibus*); thus preceding by ten centuries the learned Benedictines, who have written so ably on the art of verifying dates, and on the scientific elements, both religious and astronomical, of our calendar*.

The Treatise *De Temporibus* preserved a great reputation during many centuries, and numerous manuscript copies of it exist, for the most part, of ancient date, and remarkable for their fine graphic execution, required, in fact, by the scientific nature of the work, which contains many numerical tables systematically arranged, written in letters or cyphers of different colors. Drawings of figures, also, are introduced into the text, to illustrate some of these manuscripts, as is the case in the fac-simile given in the Plate, which is of great antiquity, and very regular in its execution. This specimen of minuscule writing, accompanied by figures, is copied from the third page of the volume, whilst the large letters are taken from page 256. The letters of the Greek alphabet occupy the 2nd, 4th, and 6th lines at the upper part of the fac-simile; and Roman numerals are in the 1st, 3rd, and 5th lines, indicating the numerical value of each of the former. The author informs us, that the

* *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, etc. 1783–1787, 3 vols. fol.

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Greeks had also three other numerical signs, which they named *Episymon*, equal to 6; *Copi*, equal to 90, and . . . . . equal to 900. He omits this last word, as well as the figures of these three signs mentioned in the text, which is to be thus read:—

Similiter habent istas tres alias caracteres, Una dr̄ [*dicitur*] apud illos Epysimon, cujus figura ē[*est*] hec . . . . . et ponitur in numero *pro* sex; aliam dicunt Copi, cujus figura hec ē . . . . et ponitur *in* nonaginta; tertiam nominant . . . . cujus figura ē hec, ... et ponitur in numero *pro* nungentos. Qui et ideo mox numeros digitis significare didicerunt, nulla interstante mora, litteras quoque pariter isdem prefigere sciunt. Verum hec actenus. Nunc ad tempora quantum ipse temporum conditor ordinatorque Dn̄s [*Dominus*] adjuvare dignabitur, exponenda veniamus.

The four figures which follow express by the different arrangement of the fingers of the left hand various numbers; this passage being taken from that chapter of the work of Bede, intitled, *De computo vel loquela digitorum.* The three lines beneath are written in large contorted letters, with the strokęs arbitrarily elongated, and ending in superfluous strokes, long, close, and disproportionately tall, crooked, and bent backwards; forming a very remarkable specimen of the broken Lombardic capital writing. These three lines are difficult to be read, on account of the words not being divided, and contain a receipt for obtaining true dreams, as follows:—

ANTIFON PIILLOCRUS ET ARTEMON ET SERAPION ASCALONITES PROMITTUNT IN LIBRIS SUIS QUOD LAURUM SI DORMIENTIB[US] AD CAPUT POSUERIS, VERA SOMNIA ESSE VISUROS.

The last line in the Plate is explanatory of the isolated capital letters which stand above it.

The first text is written in broken Lombardic minuscules, described in our remarks on the Code of Lombardic laws, (in the next Plate) which, as well as the manuscript now before us, belongs to the monastery of the Trinity, at La Cava, in the kingdom of Naples

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PLATE CXLIV.

BROKEN LOMBARDIC WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

CODE OF LOMBARDIC LAWS.

THE laws imposed by the Lombard kings, who were the rulers of a portion of Italy from A.D. 568 to 774, have been collected by Lindenbrog, Leibnitz, and other learned jurisconsults, the editors of the legal codes of the various barbarous tribes who inundated Roman Europe during the early period of the middle ages. Manuscripts of the Lombardic Code are extremely rare; even Muratori, the great critic and historian of Italy, was only acquainted with two, being ignorant of a third, more ancient and important than the others, belonging to the monastery of the Trinity, at La Cava. The present fac-simile is copied from this precious manuscript, which is a narrow quarto volume, written on vellum, in broken, thick, full, conjoined, Lombardic minuscule characters, the words not being divided, and therefore difficult to be read. The forms of the letters *r* and of *j* resembling *l*, the conjoined letters *ti* and *ri*, the isolated *t*, and the *e*, are especially characteristic of the Lombardic writing; *&* is found in the middle of words; the long tails are obliquely truncated, whilst the tall top-strokes are clavate. The capital letters at the beginning of the chapters are *zoomorphic*, or formed of animals, rudely drawn, and the writing of the text is destitute of elegance.

The library of La Cava is known to have acquired this manuscript in the year 1263*, and the author speaks

* *Lettera dell' Abate di Rozan, su de' libri e Msc. preziosi nella Bibl. di Cava.* Napoli, 1822, 4to., p. 50.

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of the burning of the city of Pavia by Henry of Bavaria, and his return into Germany, which occurred in the year 1004. This circumstance therefore accords with the characteristics of the manuscript, and fixes its age to the eleventh century.

The drawing represented in the Plate exhibits a prince clothed in a long tunic, and covered with a rich mantle, seated on a throne in the form of a folding-stool, and bearing the insignia of royalty, the sceptre and crown; an armed officer stands at his right hand, and on the other side a person in a civil robe holds an open book at the feet of the prince. Above these figures is written in majuscule letters, mingled with some uncials, DOMNUS ARECHIS PRIN[CEPS.]

We here recognize Arechis (more usually called Arighis) Duke of Benevento, who was raised to the throne in the place of Luitprand, deposed in the year 758. In 774, when Charlemagne defeated Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards, who died in the monastery of Corbie, Arechis, his son, assumed the sovereignty, with the title of *Prince*, a designation given him also in the manuscript, and which was recognized by Charlemagne, after having compelled Arechis in 782 to acknowledge himself as his vassal; which title descended also to the successive princes of Benevento.

Arechis, a Lombard by birth, maintained in his states the authority of the Lombardic laws, which survived in Italy the people by whom they had been promulgated; and in the drawing before us we see one of the learned men of the time, to whom was committed the task of preserving these laws, or to make fresh copies of the code which contained them. He is represented presenting his work to the prince, and this scribe or councillor is also a Lombard, as indicated by his dress, which is thus described by the historian of the Lombard conquerors, Paulus Diaconus (who dedicated his work to this same Arechis). "They shave the back of the head, whilst the

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rest of the hair falls parted from the forehead on each side of the face, uniting with the beard near the mouth. Their habiliments are short, but very ample, and adorned with broad ribbons; they wear sandals, and also leggings of leather."

The code of Lombardic laws was published by the king Rotharis, in A.D. 643, and the manuscript before us would favor the conjecture, that Arechis made a compilation from it, for the use of his principality of Benevento.

The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses four copies of these laws, one of which is of the eleventh century*, but neither in these manuscripts nor in the printed editions do we find the text given in the fac-simile (with all its faults), which forms part of some Dedicatory Epistle or *Proëmium* to a collection of these laws, as follows†:—

Presentem vero dispositionis vr̄e [*vestre*] edictum que d̄o [*Deo*] proprio cum summo studio, et summis vigiliis ac celesti fabore perstitit, inquirentes et rememorantes, antiquas leges patrum vr̄or [*vestrorum*] quæ scriptæ non erant, condidicimus, et pro communi omniumque gentis vr̄e utilitatibus expediunt, pari consilio pariqe consensum, cum primatibus judicibus, cunctoque felicissimo exercitamento, augentes constituimus, et in hoc membrana scribere jussimus, pertractantes, et sub hoc tamen capitulo reservantes, ut quod adhuc, annuente divina clementia, subtile inquisitione de antiquas leges Langobardorum, tam per nosmetipsos, quam per antiquos homines memorare potuerit, in hoc edictum subjungere debeamus, addentes quin etiam pergairet junx - - - -

* A copy of the same age was formerly in the Pinelli collection, and is now in the British Museum, MS. Add., 5411.—Ed.

† The MM. Champollion commit several errors in their reading of this text:—thus, they write *dono* for *Deo*, *prestitit* for *perstitit*, *expedimur* for *expediunt*, and *scribentes* for *scribere*.—Ed.

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PLATE CXLV.

ITALIAN-LOMBARDIC WRITING.

XIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

DIPLOMA OF ROGER, FIRST NORMAN KING OF SICILY.

THE enterprises of the Norman barons against Italy and Sicily towards the middle of the eleventh century, under the command of the sons of Tancred de Hauteville, were attended, like all such attempts, by the loss of many men and much time; an entire century of heroism and combats passed away, and it was by the second son of the youngest of the twelve sons of Tancred, that success was at length achieved, and the crown of the kingdom of Sicily placed on his head.

Born of the second marriage of Roger, Count of Sicily, with Adelaide, daughter of the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat (who was of the blood of Charlemagne), Roger had scarcely attained the age of four years at the death of his father. He remained under the tutelage of his mother until he became old enough to take on himself the management of his affairs, when he united the duchy of Apulia to his estates (notwithstanding the opposition of Pope Honorius II.), erected his countship of Sicily into a kingdom, and caused himself to be crowned king in the church of Palermo, on Christmas-day of the year 1130.

This same year is the date of the Charter figured in the Plate, and which is very remarkable for the diversity of its character and idiom.

The first line is written in Lombardic capitals, consisting of tall letters, mixed with some uncials, with the bases and summits of the vertical strokes dilated, and slender in the

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middle ; a species of writing said to have been used as early as the eighth century in manuscripts ;—and in adopting the ordinary denomination of *Lombardic writing*, it is not intended thereby that it was introduced or invented by the Lombards who subjugated Italy, as it is, in reality, only one of the numerous modifications of Roman capital writing, which is the source of all the others

The first line of the Charter, in which may be observed many conjoined and inclosed letters, and frequent abbreviations, is to be read thus :—

+ INE DNI DI [*In nomine Domini Dei*] ÆTERNI ET SALVATORIS NRI JHU XPI, ANNO AB INCARNATIONE EJUS M.C. TRICESIMO INDIC[*tione*] VIIII.

Then follows the text :—

Ego Rogerius, D*e*i gra*tia* Siciliæ, Apulie et Calabriæ Rex, adjutor Chri*sti*anor*um*, et clipeus, Rogerii, magni comitis, heres et filius, ad hoc in regni regimine, Dno disponente, p*ro*moti, c*on*spicimur ut religione*m* augere, locis venerabilib*us* necessitate*m* supple*re*, p*er* helemosinar*um* aministratione*m*, ipso p*re*stante, debeamus. Id*e*oq*ue*, fr*ater* in Xpo k*arissi*me, Symeon, abbas de Cava, ob amore D*e*i *sanctæ*q*ue* D*e*i genit*ri*cis Mariæ, p*ro* salute etia*m* a*nim*æ patris n*ost*ri glo*ri*osæ memoriæ, Rog*er*ii comitis, mat*ris*q*ue* no*str*æ Adelaide, Reginæ, et n*ost*ra, eccl*esi*am S*ancti* Archang*e*li in p*er*tinencia Petreliæ sitam, a Radulfo Belbacense olim edificata*m*, ti*bi*, tuisq*ue* successorib*us*, et Cavensi monasterio - - - - [*donamus et concedimus.*] Data Panormi, primo anno regni nostri, mense Februario.

This is followed by a line written in very elegant cursive Greek characters, to be read :—

† Ρογέριος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ εὐσεβὴς, κραταιος ρὴξ, καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βοηθός.

"*Roger, in Christ God, pious, puissant King, and protector of Christians.*"

At the period of the execution of this diploma, the more common writing of Italian documents was the recent Lombardic minuscule, mingled with cursive, but at the same time an ordinary minuscule was used, similar to the fine Capetian hand of the eleventh century. Such is the writing of the text of this

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diploma, mingled with capital and cursive letters, very elegant and flourished, with very tall up-strokes, clavate at the top, and with long tails to some of the letters.

This fine specimen of one of the varieties of the modern Lombardic writing belongs to the ancient monastery of La Cava, in the kingdom of Naples. It contains a donation, made by King Roger to that monastery, of the church of San Archangelo, at Petralia, in the vicinity of the convent. Only the first four lines of the charter are engraved, but the remainder informs us that, together with the church, the king granted all its other possessions, including the *Christian serfs and the Saracen serfs* which the church possessed, whose names are inserted in the charter, twelve of whom are Christians, including two widows, and nine others Saracens. The first and last lines of the document announce that it was executed at Palermo, in the first year of the reign of Roger*, in the month of February, in the year 1130, and in the fourth indiction. The chronological characters of this date are exact, admitting that the chancellor of the king reckoned, according to an usage established in Italy, the commencement of the year of the Incarnation from the 25th March, the day of the Annunciation, and the indiction from the 1st January, as in the Bulls of the Popes, subsequent to Gregory VII.

King Roger was crowned on the 25th December, 1130, which year extends from the 25th March, 1129, to the 25th March, 1130, according to our mode of computation, and hence the month of December and the month of February following (the date of the Charter) belong to the same year, which is the first of the reign of Roger. As the original diplomas of the Norman kings in Sicily are almost unknown, the fac-simile in the Plate will be regarded with much interest.

* See *L'ystoire de li Normant*, published by M. Champollion Figeac in 1835, p. 327.

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PLATE CXLVI.

BROKEN LOMBARDIC MINUSCULE WRITING, WITH MUSICAL NOTES.

XIIth CENTURY.

HOMILIES AND HYMNS FOR THE FESTIVALS OF THE YEAR.

THE accompanying Plate represents the form of the manuscript from whence the fac-simile has been taken. It is upon vellum, and belongs to the monastery of La Cava. It is a liturgical volume, containing the Lessons and Homilies for the principal festivals of the year, and, occasionally, portions of the Offices of the Saints; among which may be noticed the office of Saint Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, in Champagne, who died 29th July, A.D. 478, and whose feast-day is rarely observed out of France. The office of this French saint occupies a larger space than any of the others, which is the more remarkable in a volume written for a church in Italy.

A learned palæographer, from whom the description of this manuscript is borrowed*, conjectures that the first and third abbots of La Cava were monks of Cluny, and that they carried with them to this Neapolitan monastery the fame and worship of the French saint. It may, moreover, be observed, that the Lombardic writing was not less used in France than in Italy, and was alike retained in both countries until the thirteenth century†; so that the manuscript might have been executed in France, either by a French or an Italian scribe.

* *Lettera dell' Abate di Rozan, su de' libri e msc. della Cava*, p. 104.

† *Nouv. Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. iii., p. 276; and Montfaucon, *Museum Italicum*, tom. i., p. 118.

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The chief portion of this manuscript is, in fact, written in broken Lombardic minuscule; the letters are generally conjoined, whence it possesses somewhat of the appearance of cursive writing. The words are divided and punctuated, the letters thick and solid; the form of the *r* is singular, especially when conjoined with *i*; *e* with a cedilla is written for *æ*; *t* and *i* are of peculiar form; *ſ* descends below the line*; the tall strokes are clavate, and the tails diagonally truncated; so that, on the whole, this writing is difficult to be read, except with great attention.

The capitals of the title are elegant, taller than wide, alternately black and colored, ornamented with pearls or dots, and often terminated in leaves or volutes. The large initial S is embroidered on a gold ground, with the ends terminating in human heads, enclosed in a parallelogram, the open spaces of which are occupied by foliated arabesques. The whole is to be read thus :—

S̄cs D̄ni (*Sanctus Domini*) Confessor Lupus, vir omni mentis probitate conspicuus, et æterno regi sacerdos dilectissimus, *etc.* . . . . parentibus linea regalis propaginis propagatis exortus.

This is the commencement of the Office of St. Lupus. The text of the right-hand page, given in the fac-simile, is also copied from the same Office, which contains a hymn in honor of the same Bishop of Troyes, of more than eighty hexameter or pentameter verses. It appears that this hymn is twice repeated in the manuscript, and in the second copy is accompanied with ecclesiastical musical notes, of which the Plate gives a specimen. The first lines contain an invocation to the saint, and form the first strophe of the rhyming prose or hymn in his honor, which is to be read :—

Ave, presul gloriose,
ave, sidus jam celeste,
decorans, Lupe, cœlum.
Nos guberna visens humum,
quæ letemur triumphantes,
te patronum venerantes.

* These remarks on the letters are equally applicable to the specimens of Lombardic writing which have preceded.—Ed.

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These rhythmical lines are written across the page, and a red line and musical notes are placed over the words, serving for the chant of the hymn*. The red line appears to have been added subsequently.

These musical notes are called *neumæ*, and are stated to be as old as the time of Gregory the Great, in the eighth century. They were used for the notation of church-books, and their forms were very various. Here the simple *neuma* is a small oblong mark, but elsewhere it is found in the shape of a round dot, or other easy and well-determined figure. Placed over the words at a greater or lesser height, it indicated the degree of elevation or depression of the intonation, and enabled the eye to serve as the guide both to the voice and ear; but the relation and absolute value of each *neuma* was still left to be guessed at. This uncertainty was remedied by Guido d'Arezzo about the middle of the eleventh century, who placed the *neumæ* upon parallel lines and their interspaces, and by ruling the lines in red, yellow or green; the red line indicating that the note written upon it was *fa*. In the manuscript before us there is but one line, which is red, and the person who traced it has followed the practice in use with respect to colored lines. He has, moreover, placed the letter F at the commencement of each line; thus indicating to the chanter that the note on this line is *fa*, from which the value of the other notes is determined.

The writing of this hymn is also in broken Lombardic minuscule, very elegant, and not less difficult to be read than the preceding. The text and notation indicate the manuscript to be a work of the end of the twelfth century.

* The beautiful Lombardic MS. in the Bodleian Library, Canonici 61. (of which Westwood has given a fac-simile in his *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*), has similar musical notes, but without any line.—Ed.

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PLATE CXLVII.

MINUSCULE LATIN WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

LUCAN'S PHARSALIA, IN THE LIBRARY OF RHEIMS.

THE work in which the poet Lucan has described the civil wars of Rome, has been the subject of many criticisms. In it were introduced the first men of their times—Cæsar, Pompey, Brutus, Cato, and many others; and we find in it, scattered with a lavish hand, thoughts and principles which reveal the sublime orator, the profound thinker, the resolute politician, and the courageous philosopher—a man, in fact, worthy of the hatred of Nero, who put him to death for having, with Piso, conspired against his life. His work has been critically studied, with a view to determine, by the most established rules, whether the Pharsalia, written in Alexandrine verse, and divided into books or cantos, is an epic poem or a history in verse. The celebrated Roman critic, Quintilian, ranged Lucan amongst the orators, Vossius among the historians, and Voltaire among the poets. Tacitus admired him, and Corneille carried his love of this writer to enthusiasm.

Of the numerous works composed by Lucan, although he died at the age of twenty-seven years, there remains to us only an Epistle in praise of Calpurnius Piso, and the Pharsalia, the most considerable of all his works. The text of this poem occurs in a great number of manuscripts, some of which are very ancient. The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses some as early as the tenth century.

The two manuscripts which have supplied the two prin-

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cipal fac-similes in the Plate, belong to the Communal Library of Rheims, and were obtained from some monastery in the neighbourhood rich in monuments of this kind, as was that of St. Arnoul. United on the same page, these two fac-similes will afford some useful palæographical observations. The difference of the two kinds of writing is at once evident, the one to the left being heavier, closer, and better formed than the right-hand specimen, which is in a rounder hand. In the former, many of the letters are conjoined, whereas, in the latter, they are detached; in both, the upper and lower strokes are short, clavate at the top, and bent towards the left, with the tails irregularly truncated or acute.

The words in the first specimen are but half divided, whereas they are quite distinct in the second; the strokes of the *m*, *n*, *u*, and *i*, in the latter are upright and simple, but in the former the strokes generally terminate in a small hair-stroke bent upwards. The punctuation is careless in both manuscripts, and both are to be referred to the twelfth century.

There is a considerable difference also between the texts of the two manuscripts: in the first, the letter *h* is constantly suppressed, and *e* is always used for *æ;* whereas in the second, the *e* is accompanied by a cedilla whenever it is intended for the diphthong. In the latter, there are also some false readings, which do not occur in the former.

In the left-hand fac-simile there are many words interlined, which are either corrections or glosses. In the second line is a specimen of the former kind. The scribe had written *movere profundum;* but the corrector of the manuscript has interlined the word *tenuere* for *movere*, which occurs in the right-hand fac-simile, and which is generally preferred by good critics, and in the best editions, notwithstanding the authority of other manuscripts, in which the word *movere* occurs. Another example is given in the Plate (No. 1.) of the alter-

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ations made by these correctors, whose duty it was to ascertain the fidelity of the scribes—a class of men, in general, but little instructed; so that it was necessary that their writing should be revised by men of letters, who often added at the foot of the manuscripts certificates of having performed such revision. A specimen is added (No. 2.) of one of these certificates, copied from a fine manuscript of Lucan in the Bibliothèque Royale, which states that the volume had been revised by Paul, a native of Constantinople; and he wishes life and a prefecture to the reader; and to himself, life and fortune:—PAULUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS EMENDAVI MANU MEA SOLUS. M. ANNEI LUCANI LIBER IIII. EXPLICIT. INCIPIT LIBER V. FELIC[IT]ER. LEGENTI VITA ET P[RE]FECTURA, SCRIPTORI VITA ET FORTUNA. AMEN.

PLATE CXLVIII.

LOMBARDIC WRITING.

XIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

THE MORALS ON JOB, OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT.

GREGORY, born of a noble family of Rome, at first undertook the duties of a magistrate of the city; but subsequently renouncing the world, was sent to Constantinople on the affairs of the Church, and was at length elected Pope, by the unanimous consent of the clergy and people, in A.D. 590. Anxious to avoid this honor, he withdrew himself, and wrote to the Emperor Maurice, requesting him not to approve of the election. He was, however, ordained Pope, and rendered his pontificate illustrious by the practice of the highest virtues, the introduction of Christianity into England, the reform of

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the office and chant of the Roman Church, and lastly, by a number of literary compositions, which were published by the Benedictines during the last century. This Pope is generally named in ecclesiastical annals, Gregory the Great.

The fac-simile in the Plate is copied from a fine manuscript of one of his works, the Morals or Commentaries on Job; a large folio volume written on vellum, belonging to the monastery of La Cava, in the kingdom of Naples. This manuscript, according to a recent statement*, is in various hands and writings, although all are very ancient, and is terminated by St. Jerome's Commentary on Ecclesiastes, which is written in broken Lombardic letters, whereas the text of St. Gregory is in Roman minuscules of various kinds. An examination, however, of the fac-simile before us (which forms part of the tenth book of the Morals of Pope Gregory) leads us to suppose that some error has crept into this statement†, since it is certainly written, not in Roman minuscule, but in broken Lombardic minuscule, and may be referred to the eleventh century‡.

The initial letter is a fine capital of the class called *lettres grises*, the strokes being formed of an interlaced pattern, and the interior ornamented with arabesques.

The first two lines are in large Lombardic capitals mixed with uncials, with the summits and bases of the strokes dilated, and slender in the middle; a species of writing known as early as the eighth century, and long subsequently used for titles and capitals, which were the work of an artist rather than that of

* *Lettera dell' Abate de Rozan su de' libri et msc. della Bibl. di Cava*, 1822, 4to., p. 110.

† See the remarks on Plate CXXXIII., containing a specimen of Roman minuscule taken from the same manuscript.—Ed.

‡ In the heading of this article, in the French edition, and on the Plate, the date is erroneously given as the thirteenth century. In all probability, this portion of the manuscript may safely be attributed to the twelfth.—Ed.

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a scribe; whence it arises, that the writing of such titles ought to have less weight in determining the age of a manuscript than that of the text. An opportunity will elsewhere occur of presenting specimens of manuscripts, in which the scribe has imitated antique forms, which were only ordinarily employed at a date many centuries previous. It is therefore necessary to be on one's guard against such imitations.

The text of the fac-simile is written in broken Lombardic minuscules, heavy, solid, and conjoined; the *t* is of remarkable form, either alone or conjoined with *i*, as is also the *e*, the *r* alone, or conjoined with *i*, the double *ii* dotted, and the *c* final. Notwithstanding its regular appearance, this kind of writing is difficult to be read: it is generally found in the ancient manuscripts preserved in the Benedictine monasteries in Italy, such as those of Monte Cassino and La Cava. At the foot of the Plate is given an alphabet of capital letters from the body of the text, being a mixture of rustic Roman uncials and Lombardic letters; it is, however, the ordinary capital of this last kind of writing. The text is to be read:—

QUOTIENS IN ARENE SPECTACULUM fortis athleta descenderit, hii qui imparis virtutis existunt, vicissim se ejus expugnationi subiciunt, et uno victo, contra hunc protinus alter eligitur, atque hoc subacto, alius subrogatur, ut luctantis vires quandoque molliores inveniant, quas ipsa sua crebrescens victoria fatigat; quatenus cum novus quisque congreditur is qui vinci virium qualitate non valet personarum saltem mutatione superetur. Sic sic in hoc hominum angelorumque spectaculo, beatus Job, fortis athleta prodiit quantumque contra mutationem adversantium valeat, continuatione indefessi roboris ostendit, cui primus se Eliphaz, secundus autem Baldach obicit, atque ad extremum se Sophar, in ejus expugnatione supponit, qui ad inferendos ictus totis se conatibus erigunt.

The Lombardic minuscule writing is only an alteration of the fine Roman minuscule, modified according to the variable taste of the Italians, and may in this point of view be regarded as the national writing of Italy from the seventh to the thirteenth century. It was not invented by the Lombards themselves, but its use was contemporaneous with the invasion of

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Italy by them in the year 568, and derived its name from that event, which it preserved as long as it continued in use, many centuries after the expulsion of the Lombards from Italy. It was, however, very rarely employed in France. The present fac-simile is a fine specimen of this writing.

PLATE CXLIX.

BROKEN LOMBARDIC WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

COMMENTARY OF BENEDICT OF BARI ON THE SEVEN APOCALYPTIC SEALS.

THE fine volume in Lombardic writing from whence this fac-simile is taken is preserved in the archives of the celebrated monastery of La Cava, a town in the Principato Citra of the kingdom of Naples. Mabillon and D. Michael Germain visited this religious house in November, 1685, and published two years afterwards a curious account of it*. They found the archives in good order, one of the monks named Augustine having drawn up an excellent catalogue of them in four volumes. The monastery of La Cava being of the Benedictine order, the two Benedictines above mentioned were received here with great distinction, and they saw and described the manuscript now under notice.

The title *De Septem Sigillis* announces an ascetical treatise on the seven seals of the Apocalypse. This mystical book has in all ages been a fruitful field for the disquisitions of those adventurous spirits who have laboured or amused themselves in explaining its incomprehensibilities by bold suppositions—the unknown by the impossible.

* *Museum Italicum*, tom. i, pp. 116—118, 4to. 1687.

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The author of this treatise on the Seven Seals may be classed with those writers who have wasted their real talents in these fruitless lucubrations. But little is known of him. He names himself in his work Benedictus *Barensis*, from being a native of Bari, a city of Apulia, and Mabillon supposed that he was living in the year 1227.

His treatise is divided into 361 chapters, and has never been printed, although, according to the Abbate de Rozan*, it is not destitute of merit. He even judges it superior to many of the compositions of the thirteenth century, when the neglect of letters led to the production of little else than trivial works, barbarous in their language, and trifling in their object. The same writer discovered in the necrology of the abbey that its author died in 1220; thus correcting the opinion of Mabillon, who relied upon a note much more recent than the manuscript itself. M. de Rozan also ascertained, that this was the identical manuscript presented by the author to the abbot of La Cava, named Balsamon, about the year 1213. This circumstance, in fact, is the subject of the painting represented in the lower part of the Plate, and which occurs towards the end of the manuscript, as proved by the two legends inscribed on it. An abbot, mitred and holding his crosier, is seated on a chair of antique form, with his feet on a foot-stool, and near his head is written *Dominus Abbas Balsamus*. An elderly monk kneeling, accompanied by another much younger, presents to the abbot a book with three clasps, and beneath him is his name, *D. Benedictus Barensis, Auctor libri.* There can be no doubt, that this painting is contemporary with the manuscript itself, and it may be considered as a valuable illustration of the habit of the Benedictine order in the thirteenth century.

The upper part of the Plate is occupied by a fac-simile of the text of the work. The first line in red, full of abbreviations, is to be read, *Incip*[*it*] *p*[*ro*]*logus in libro de Septe*[*m*]

* *Lettera*, etc., p. 64.

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Sigillis, edito a quoda[*m*] *Caven*[*si*] *monacho Ben*[*edictino*]. Then follows the text of the prologue, commencing with a large C, ornamented with arabesques in different colors on a gold ground. It commences:—

Cogitis me frs̄ bē mi [*fratres benemeriti*], actis desideriorum affectibus postulantes, ut aliquid vobis impertiar grē̄ [*gratiæ*] spiritualis, *etc.*

Both in the rubric and text are to be recognized the small capitals and minuscule of the Lombardic writing; the latter of the species termed broken, as are also some of the letters of the former. This is the manuscript which furnished Mabillon with the proof of the use of Lombardic writing in Italy as late as the thirteenth century, which is the date of the volume itself.

PLATE CL.

BROKEN LOMBARDIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

END OF THE XIIITH CENTURY.

LIVES OF THE FATHERS OF LA CAVA.

THE present fac-simile is added to the series of Lombardic specimens, in order to complete the requisite information relative to this kind of writing, which, although peculiar to Italy, was not unknown in France; as well as to illustrate its latest period of existence in the country which gave it birth.

The opinions of the learned on this latter point have been much at variance, but authentic documents are fortunately in existence which enable us to determine the question.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the Italian antiquaries considered that the employment of Lombardic

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writing ceased in the tenth century*. In 1681, Mabillon corrected this opinion, and in consequence of the knowledge he had acquired of various charters and manuscripts, extended its use in Italy to the twelfth century†. In 1685, however, he saw in the monastery of La Cava, in the kingdom of Naples, various manuscripts in the Lombardic character, including the treatise *De Septem Sigillis*, from which he was led to extend its use still farther to the commencement of the thirteenth century‡. But another manuscript, examined also by Mabillon in the library of the same monastery, would authorise a different conclusion, namely, that the Lombardic writing remained in use in Italy until the fourteenth century.

This manuscript, which Mabillon designated by the title of *Vitæ Patrum Cavensium*, and which appeared to him (in 1685) to be more than 400 years old, has furnished the subject of the present Plate. Another learned palæographer§, who has examined this volume with more leisure and care than Mabillon, has ascertained that the volume terminates with a list of the abbots of La Cava, from its foundation until the abbot Leo II., whose death is lamented by the author. Now, this abbot, according to the most convincing documentary evidence, died in the year 1296, and consequently up to this date, the Lombardic writing (which is that of the manuscript in question, and the list of the abbots is in the same hand) was still in use. Muratori also admits‖, that the transcription of this manuscript must have been occupied several years subsequent to 1296; and hence the use of this Lombardic writing must have been prolonged until the beginning

* Cardinal Bona, *De Rebus Liturgicis*, lib. i., p. 83.

† *De Re Diplomatica*, pp. 46 and 49.

‡ *Museum Italicum*, tom. i., p. 118. [See the previous Plate, CXLIX.]

§ The Abbate de Rozan, *Lettera*, etc., p. 60.

‖ *Rerum Italic. Scriptores*, tom. vi., p. 206, fol. 1725, in which work the *Vitæ Abbatum* are printed.—Ed.

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of the fourteenth century. This fact, therefore, must hence forth be regarded as one of the most certain rules in relation to Latin palæography.

The Plate belonging to the present article represents the first page of this manuscript of La Cava, and the lines at the head of the first column furnish its true title, *Incipit p[ro]logus in Vitas Abbatu[m] nostroru[m]*. This title, like the text of the volume, exhibits the heavy, broken, round, and wide Lombardic minuscule, with the top-strokes triangularly clavate, and the tails generally short and truncated diagonally, with many of the letters conjoined; the *i* occasionally accentuated; the words separated, the phrases punctuated, and the abbreviations rather numerous; each page being divided by lines ruled with a plummet, in double columns, with 25 lines in each.

The prologue commences with the phrase, SI JUXTA DIVINE SENTENCIAM veritatis, lucerna ad hoc accendit*ur*, ut, sup*er* candelabrum posita, lumen domu*m* intrantib*us* p*re*beat, *etc.* The initial letter S is of large size, elegantly executed, the body of the letter being ornamented with a pattern of different colors, and the open spaces filled up with arabesques of leaves and flowers. The words which immediately follow are in capitals of a degenerated uncial character, formed with thick strokes alternately red and blue*, and surcharged with flourishes, which may be regarded as the modern Gothic, especially from the C and E being closed; a kind of writing rarely used in manuscripts, and which gives additional interest to the fac-simile of a manuscript unquestionably of Lombardo-Italian execution, of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century.

* The French editors write *black and white*.—ED.

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PLATES CLI., CLII.

ROMANO-ITALIC AND PROVENÇAL WRITING.

XIIITH AND XIVTH CENTURIES.

POETRY OF THE TROUBADOURS.

THE origin both of the writing and the language of the Troubadours is to be sought for in the Roman civilization.—At first, Gaulish, like all the inhabitants of Gaul, the natives of the south of France kept up the institutions common to the country, and in the dark primitive period of the national history, their language, like their manners, religion, and laws, was Gaulish. They were unacquainted with writing, according to a Roman tradition; the Druids confided all their knowledge to memory. Cæsar, nevertheless, found in the Gaulish camp a muster-roll of their army, written in letters similar to those of the Greek alphabet; and it has been ascertained in modern times, by the comparative study of monuments, that the Greek alphabet, in its primitive form, was also that of the Italian tribes, and could not have remained unknown among the Gauls. This fact, therefore, establishes a community of usage between Gaul, Italy, and Greece, which will dispense with the necessity for any further enquiry as to the origin of alphabetical writing among the Gauls.

When Romanized, the Roman writing, with all its vicissitudes, was also common to them; and in a country of intellectual development, like the southern provinces of France, the Roman civilization could not perish; and its duration was further ensured by the congenial climate, the natural riches of the country, and the peculiar genius of its inhabitants.

Reformed according to the Roman model, the Gaulish

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language was modified at an early period, both in its words and syntactic rules, since it was necessary that the inhabitants should be on good terms with their new masters, whom they had so violently resisted.

As early as the fourth century traces are found of this new idiom, neither Greek, Gaulish, nor Latin, but a language termed *rustic*, being a mixture of all the three: at first, rude, almost without rules, gradually reforming itself by usage, and eventually opposing itself to the Latin tongue, which retreated to the tribunals and the cloisters, whilst the new idiom daily gained ground, and extended itself over the whole of the Romanized country, Romanizing in its turn, and exhibiting itself at length in the four languages and literature of the south of Europe, namely, the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and French. This rustic language of the fourth century is their common parent; the acquisitions from other languages, and the national genius of each country have combined to form and enrich them.

With respect to France, it is necessary to investigate the works written in this rustic language, commonly called the "*Romane du midi*," in order to trace to its source this interesting portion of its history. Writings in it still exist both in prose and verse; and if time had not swallowed up the more ancient, we might, no doubt, have learned what was its state previous to the tenth century: some fragments, in fact, are preserved of this early period; but they are extremely rare, and the copies are not contemporary. The oath of Louis of Germany to his brother, Charles le Chauve, in the Romance language of the south of France, pronounced in the assembly held in 842, sufficiently proves the existence of this dialect; but the manuscript of Nithard, in which the most ancient copy of this oath is preserved, is of the thirteenth century.

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It is to the same century that the two most ancient of the three manuscripts* belong, which have furnished the fac-similes given in the Plates which accompany these remarks. These two specimens of the thirteenth century will afford some useful points of comparison, since the manuscript, No. 2032, was written in Italy, whilst the other, No. 7226, was executed in France. In both these manuscripts we find the Roman minuscule in its Gothic form; but the degeneration is much more advanced in the French than in the Italian specimen. In the one, the angular forms abound, whilst in the other, many of the letters retained their Roman forms: in the latter, the writing is round and elegant; in the former, it is heavy and large, taller than wide, the *s* rising far above the top of the lines, with many of the letters conjoined; whereas they are isolated in the other manuscript, in which also the capitals are of large size, and illuminated with historical subjects in gold and colors.

The specimen figured under No. 2032 contains the commencement of the Poems of Guillaume de Saint-Leidier, preceded by his life.

Guillems de Saint Leidier si fo uns rics castellans de Veillac, del evescat del Puoi Sainta Maria; e fo onratz hom, e bons cavalliers d'armas, e lar[g]es donaire d'aver—*i. e., Guillaume de Saint Leidier venait*† *d'un riche châtelain de Veillac, de l'évêche du Pui-Sainte-Marie; ce fut un homme honoré, et bon chevalier d'armes, et généreux de son bien.*

The third specimen is taken from another manuscript, also executed in Italy, but in the fourteenth century. The Roman minuscule is much more angular than that of the volume, No. 2032, yet, nevertheless, it is handsome and regular. The short notes on the margin of the page in cursive writing are attributed to Petrarch; and this memento of so illustrious

* All of which are preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.—Ed.

† Falsely so rendered by the French editors, from having carelessly read *fo de* for *fo.*—Ed.

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a poet will add to the interest of these fac-similes*. In these manuscripts the verses are written in continuous lines, the couplets alone being divided.

PLATE CLIII.

GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING OF ITALY.

XIVTH CENTURY.

LATIN BIBLE OF POPE CLEMENT VII.

In the notice of the Missal of Pope Clement VII., the chief events of the singular life of this pontiff are briefly detailed. Although simply mentioned in modern ecclesiastical annals as Robert of Geneva, and forgotten by diplomatists, he nevertheless, both *de facto* and also *de jure* (according to some authorities), exercised the powers of the pontificate during a period of sixteen consecutive years at Avignon, in opposition to Urban VI. and Boniface IX., who contemporaneously held the sovereignty at Rome. He was elected in 1378, and died of apoplexy in 1394.

The memorials of this Pope have remained to our own days in the city where he held his see. His Missal and his Bible are both admirable illustrations of the protection which Clement VII. afforded to the arts. The latter volume has furnished the accompanying fac-simile.

This manuscript of the Bible is a very large folio volume written upon the choicest white vellum, and consists of 924

* The writing appears to be of too late a date to have been really written by Petrarch.—Ed.

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pages, in double columns, the lines being ruled with a plummet, and wide margins left all round the text. In those pages which are the least gorgeous, each column is ornamented on the outer margin with a frame-work of red and blue, composed of very delicate lines, prolonged in a scroll manner above and below the text; the large Gothic initials of the chapters being adorned and colored in their open spaces and outer edges, and attached to the frame-work of the margin; and this work of patience, rather than of good taste, is repeated nearly 1800 times on the pages of the manuscript.

A considerable number of the pages, however, merit more attention from the beautiful miniatures, and arabesques heightened with gold, with which they are enriched; such are the pages containing the commencement of the different books of the Latin Bible, which is contained entire in this precious manuscript, followed by the interpretation of all the Hebrew names occurring in the text.

As in the fac-simile, each book is indicated by a miniature within the initial letter, which is always of large size, and also by an arabesque ornament composed of branches of leaves, elegantly knotted, and twisted into flowers and volutes, surcharged with full-length figures, and terminated by very delicate filigree strokes.

The rubric in the fac-simile, which is the first column of the 276th leaf, *verso*, announces the commencement of the Prophecies of Ezekiel. The initial E is of the lunar or uncial form, the open space of which is filled up with a lozenge diaper pattern, on which are the four heads of an angel, an ox, a lion, and an eagle, surrounded with numerous wings, in which is to be recognized the subject of the vision of Ezekiel, described in the first chapter, and tastefully depicted by the illuminator of this rich volume.

The greater number of the initial letters occupy a large portion of the height of the page, and are executed on a rich

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gold ground, heightened by the most brilliant colors; the ultramarine blue is especially beautiful.

This precious volume is No. 18 of the *Ancien fonds Latin* of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and it is stated in the catalogue to have been obtained from the library of the Maréchal de Noailles. But a note written in letters of gold at the beginning of the manuscript, headed by the armorial shield of Cardinal de Noailles, and enclosed within a richly ornamented border, informs us that this Bible came from a collegiate church in the diocese of Avignon, where it was called *The Pope's Bible*, and that the arms of the house of Geneva, joined to the pontifical arms, were impressed on the covers. It is therefore to Clement VII. that the honor belongs of having possessed this magnificent volume. It is of the fourteenth century, and its Italian art is revealed in every page; and as to the writing, it is the same (although smaller) as that of the Missal belonging to the same Pope next described.

PLATE CLIV.

GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING OF ITALY.

XIVTH CENTURY.

MISSAL OF POPE CLEMENT VII., IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AT AVIGNON.

THE first view of the accompanying fac-simile will shew that it is copied from a richly ornamented work, which must have been executed for some illustrious personage.

This manuscript, in fact, possesses some celebrity on account of its origin, although history concedes but a small

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place to the sovereign pontiff for whose use it was written. This sovereign was Clement VII., who, in ecclesiastical annals, as well as in those of the empire, is simply denominated Robert of Geneva.

Sprung from the family of the Counts of Geneva, and related to some of the most powerful princes of Christendom, Robert was successively made Canon of Paris, Bishop of Terouanne and Cambrai, and Cardinal. In 1378, Bartolomeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, was elected Pope, under the name of Urban VI., by the Cardinals of Rome, but he was not recognized by the six Cardinals then at Avignon. The imprudent conduct of Urban soon increased this opposition, and a new Pope was elected at Fondi, in September of the same year, when the choice of the Cardinals fell upon Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII.

From that period, during the following fifty years, there were two Popes with two separate jurisdictions, one of whom generally resided at Rome, and the other at Avignon. Clement VII. reigned spiritually for sixteen years over France Spain, Scotland, Savoy, Sicily, Lorraine, Cyprus, Milan, and Geneva, being considered in those countries as the legitimate Pope, to the exclusion of his rival, Urban VI. The Princess of Tarento, Marie de Bourbon, Empress of Constantinople, also declared herself in favor of Clement, and exhorted the princes, her allies, to support him. But the saints themselves were divided in opinion between the two spiritual authorities. St. Catherine of Sienna took the part of Urban, whilst the blessed Peter of Luxembourg was for Clement. A violent schism arose in the West; powerful allies ranged themselves on the side of each party; the wisest and most learned men were doubtful on which side shone the light of truth. The two Popes exercised an equal, although rival authority, in the countries where they were respectively recognized. The University of Paris at first supported Clement, but subsequently

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adopted a project of union and reciprocal arrangement. The schism did not cease until 1429, when Clement VIII., the competitor of Martin V., voluntarily abdicated. According to the Benedictines, there are some persons who still doubt which were the real Popes, from Urban VI. (1378) to Martin V. (1417). The College of Cardinals sometimes decided, and at the Council of Pisa, in 1409, they pronounced sentence of deposition against both Popes at the same time, as schismatical, perjured, devoid of honor, unfit for dominion, and cut off from the Church: thus it is not only in civil matters that deliberative assemblies have sometimes usurped the sovereign power.

The ecclesiastical annalists take no notice in their chronological lists of Robert of Geneva, and the name of Clement VII. is given by them to Giulio de' Medici, elected in 1523. Diplomatists also do not acknowledge the public acts of Robert, notwithstanding he was for sixteen years Pope Clement VII. The arbitrary judgments of men cannot, fortunately, impair the facts of history.

The manuscript before us is a memorial of the rule of this pontiff, who, although declared spurious by historians, governed France and a great part of Europe with all the authority of the tiara. Following the example of his predecessors, he encouraged the fine arts, and appropriated them to his service, of which the magnificent Missal before us is a proof. The specimen represented in the Plate will enable us to judge with how much splendor this volume is executed; the miniature painter, the illuminator, and the calligrapher, having all endeavoured to surpass one another.

The initial letters of the paragraphs are ornamented with subjects illustrative of their texts. A number of saints are grouped in perspective in the first letter, which is an F*; the

* It *ought* to be F, but it is, in reality H, by the fault of the illuminator.—Ed.

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second, which is I, is occupied with a portrait of St. Giles (*Egidius*), who is invoked in this section. The Virgin giving suck to the infant Jesus is represented in the S, which commences the word *Salve* in the second column. Other ornamental letters, formed of plain broad strokes upon a colored ground, florished and ornamented with flowers and leaves, indicate the several *alineæ*. An elegant arabesque heightened with gold, and other ornaments of simple filigree work, decorate the left-hand margin of each column, and extend below it in long tailed patterns. The text is written in modern Gothic minuscules, massive, round, or angular; the tall strokes are obliquely truncated, or bent into a point; the tails diagonally cut off; the words scarcely divided; without punctuation, and abounding in abbreviations. This is a specimen of the Roman minuscule of Italy in the fourteenth century, corrupted by the Gothic forms, which in other parts of Latin Europe prevailed even to a much greater extent.

PLATE CLV.

MODERN GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

FRENCH ROMANCE OF LANCELOT DU LAC.

We shall have occasion to speak, in another article, of the illustrious Tristan de Léonois. The subject of the present is the not less illustrious Lancelot du Lac, a hero of the same origin and race, whose memorable gests and exploits have exercised the imagination of all the romance writers of the middle ages, in the four regions of lettered Europe.

Lancelot is, indeed, but one individual of that celebrated assemblage whose fabulous legends fill the voluminous annals of

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the Round Table, for which a centre of unity has been happily suggested in the *Saint Graal*, the precious vase carried into Great Britain by the sons and companions of Joseph of Arimathea; the quest and discovery of which form the chief subject of these annals, and which was miraculously snatched up into heaven, when all the prophecies concerning it had been accomplished.

The *Lancelot* is the third branch of this vast epic romance, but it presents itself with entirely new features. Instead of the Breton traditions, collected by Geoffrey of Monmouth, or rather Robert Wace, we here find only pure deeds of chivalry, dames and knights, tournaments and love; and if the Saint Graal and the wars of King Arthur, mentioned in the first and second branches are referred to, it is only to preserve the family style of the narrative. This third branch is also distinguished by its origin being wholly French, manifested alike by the names of places and persons, and still more by the high chivalrous feeling exhibited, and the perfection of the language, which is ordinarily only met with under the influence of a powerful and creative imagination.

The composition of the *Lancelot* may be referred to the end of the twelfth century; a baron of French lineage was its author, either in France or in England; and it has been well remarked, that such a composition of gallantry and delicacy, is singularly opposed to the accusations of barbarism laid to the charge of the same century*.

The love of Lancelot for Queen Guenever is the subject, and few romances, either ancient or modern, have obtained so much renown as that of *Lancelot* during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The unfortunate Francesco de Rimini,

* See *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, by M. Paulin Paris, tom. i., pp. 160 to 211, and tom. ii., p. 363, where the present manuscript is described. [According to M. P. Paris, this volume contains, not the *Lancelot*, but the *Quête du Saint-Graal*.—ED.]

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confessed to Dante how greatly she and her lover delighted to read this history, and how much the perusal of it troubled their eyes and suffused their cheeks, so that they read no more of it. Copies of *Lancelot* were rapidly multiplied, and many of them have been preserved. The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses several beautiful manuscripts of it, and the one which has furnished the present fac-simile is numbered 6964.

It is a large folio volume, written on strong vellum, and ornamented with very characteristic drawings in the Italian style, richly colored; the costumes heightened with gold and silver; the architecture being generally represented with semi-circular arches, and a considerable number of the miniatures remaining in outline. The subject of the Plate is one of those remaining uncolored.

The text is written in double columns, in a heavy Ludovician minuscule, closely bordering on the modern Gothic; the letters close together, massive, angular, and conjoined; the strokes terminating in a hook, bending inwards; the up-strokes dilated at the summit, and concavely cut off; the tails terminated like the short strokes, or diagonally truncated. The illuminated letters are omitted in three-fourths of the text.

The writing, miniatures, and language of this fine volume indicate it to be of Italian origin, which is confirmed by finding on the fly-leaf, at the end of the volume, the abridged signature of *Galeas Maria Sforza*, first Duke of Milan, mingled with some Latin sentences.

This is one of the manuscripts brought from Pavia by Louis XII.; at least, such is the conjecture of M. Paulin Paris, which is corroborated by the inscription, evidently authentic, at the foot of the last page of the volume, *Pavye, au roy Loys xij^e^*. The subject represented in the Plate refers to the text which accompanies it. Galahaz, the companion of Lancelot, surprises the Count Baudouin, menaces him, "*qu'il*

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li voille la teste colper," and resolves to take him prisoner. The Plate represents the first page of the seventy-first leaf, where we read that the Count, "*bien voit-il que defendre ne se porroit il a cestui* [Galahaz], *et por ce dit il, à jointes mains, Ha, merci, franc chevalier, ne m'oci mie, car en ma mort ne gaaignerois tu riens; mes lesse moi vivre, et je te di, que preu et horor te vendra.*"

All the palæographical characters of this volume indicate its date to be the commencement* of the fourteenth century.

PLATE CLVI.

CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE LATIN WRITING OF ITALY.

XVTH CENTURY.

LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE MORALS OF ARISTOTLE.

THE work contained in the manuscript from whence this fac-simile is taken, is interesting from having been originally written in Greek by Aristotle, and translated into Latin by one of the most celebrated modern Greek authors, Johannes Argyropulus, of Constantinople.

The troubles created by the approach of the Turkish armies drove Argyropulus from his native city to Italy, where he arrived in 1434. He at first fixed his abode at Padua, but subsequently returned to Constantinople, where he taught philosophy, until he was again finally driven away by the Turkish conquest. Italy a second time became his home; the

* The complete suits of plate-armour in the miniatures would rather induce a belief, that it belongs to the *last quarter* of the fourteenth century.—ED.

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great Cosmo de' Medici invited him to Florence, and loaded him with favors; but soon afterwards the plague drove him thence to Rome, where he taught Greek and philosophy until his death*.

It will be seen from the text of the present manuscript, that Johannes Argyropulus devoted his attention also to the study of the Latin language, which was then highly useful to the learned Greeks, who thus became the reciprocal interpreters of the two idioms, and rendered the *chefs-d'œuvre* of ancient Greek literature accessible to Latin scholars. Argyropulus was one of those who were eminently useful at the period of the revival of classical literature. He translated into Latin various works of Aristotle, and wrote a Commentary on his *Morals*. He also composed various treatises in his native language, manuscripts of which are still in existence; and among those in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris are two, (Nos. 1906 and 1908, *fonds Grec*,) written by the hand of the author. His Latin translations of the works of Aristotle were adopted in some of the early editions, but better versions have since caused them to be forgotten. From their being highly esteemed at the time, many magnificent copies were made of them, among which is to be reckoned the volume before us.

The fac-simile exactly represents the size and form of the volume†, the extent of the writing on a page, the wide margins, the rich and elegant ornaments, the choiceness of the vellum, and the graphic perfection of the text.

A just idea cannot easily be given of the splendor of the first page, surrounded by a deep border of rich arabesques and medallions, with figures and landscapes, armorial insignia, and emblems, painted and heightened with gold on a purple ground. A tablet, in the form of a parallelogram, con-

* He died in 1486, æt. 70.—Ed.

† It belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, No. 6309.—Ed.

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tains the title of the work, written in small Roman capitals of gold on a purple ground, JOANNIS ARGYROPULI, BYZANTII, PREFATIO AD MAGNIFICUM VIRUM COSMAM MEDICEM . . . . INCIPIT FELICITER, which gives us nearly the date when Argyropulus composed this translation, since the elder Cosmo, to whom it was dedicated, died in the year 1464.

The manuscript is contemporary, and its entire execution indicates the intellectual movement in Italy, which was the result of the study of the *chefs-d'œuvre* of antiquity, brought into notice by the fugitive Greeks, and which extended its influence even to the common practice of writing. The taste for fine architecture, and all the beautiful antique productions of the arts of design, brought with it also the ancient characters; a great revolution was soon afterwards effected in every kind of writing, and the Gothic was superseded and abandoned, as soon as typography had adopted and perfected the fine Roman letters.

The manuscript under notice is an excellent specimen of the latter. In the title are seen the fine, round, elegant, truncated capitals, with the words and letters all divided, and a dot generally introduced between the words.

The initial letter of the text is a C, perfectly round, with thick and thin strokes, traced in gold upon a square blue ground, ornamented with an arabesque of leaves and flowers; the open spaces variously colored, and connected with a marginal border of similar composition.

The first lines are to be read thus:—

CUM Autem virtus sit duplex, intellectiva inq*uam*, atq*ue* moralis, intellectiva quidem ex doctrina plurimum et generationem h*abet*, et incrementum, *etc.*

We here perceive the beautiful modern Roman minuscule renovated in Italy in the fifteenth century, and which was thence transferred to typography, under the name of small Roman letters. Lesser capitals are employed as the initials of

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phrases; the words are quite divided, the tails and top-strokes are horizontally truncated, the letters upright, and massive for the size. There are but few abbreviations; *u* and *v* are both employed to express the sound of the latter letter. On the whole, it would be difficult to find a more beautiful manuscript of this period and origin, than that which is here represented.

PLATE CLVII.

MODERN ITALIAN GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

BOOK OF PRAYERS, ORNAMENTED WITH MINIATURES.

Among the manuscripts of the middle ages, the most numerous class is that of books of Prayers for the use of the members of the Latin Church. After liturgical books and copies of the Old and New Testaments, the volumes of *Hours* were the most multiplied, in proportion as instruction spread among the people the knowledge of reading; and thus books of Prayers of every kind, and proportionate value, are to be met with, from the simplest copy of the religious Offices, of small size, on bad parchment and devoid of ornament, to such magnificent volumes as the *Hours* of John, Duke of Berry, and Queen Anne of Brittany, wife of the kings Charles VIII. and Louis XII.; works in which all the perfections of calligraphy and the arts of design are united. The *Hours* of Louis XIV. must also be ranked among such *chefs-d'œuvre*, but are of much less importance in the history of art, as nothing rendered their production necessary, at a time when typography had spread its powers over the whole civilized world.

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Notwithstanding the great number of manuscript books of Prayers still in existence, and which often so occur in public sales as well as on the shelves of the bookseller, they are eagerly sought after, and sometimes produce very high prices, especially if they are of fine execution. Amateurs of such productions endeavour to determine their characters by the style of the illuminations or the writing, which will enable them to judge with certainty the country where they were executed, or even the school of art to which the miniature artist belonged; and such investigations cannot be considered as idle or useless, since this class of works was common all over Christendom, and everywhere were to be found pious persons desirous of acquiring even the least finished, as well as princes willing to purchase the most elaborate.

We are by such data enabled to determine the French, English, Italian, or Spanish origin of these books of Prayers, which are all written in the Latin language, while those in which the Greek, Slavonian, German, or other modern idioms are employed, reveal at once the country to which they belong. It has, however, been observed, that occasionally it is necessary to distinguish between the writing and the miniatures, since it sometimes happens that the latter, of Italian origin, may ornament a volume the writing of which is French. Other similar instances have been noticed. Moreover, a large collection of these books of Prayers may be made, without any actual duplicate being found among them, owing to their having been written for the use of different countries, or dioceses, or particular churches, and which vary from each other in certain prayers peculiar to local use, or in relation to saints more especially had in honor, as well as by the arrangement of the liturgy, which has so greatly varied both as to time and place. We shall find occasion to notice some of the most striking singularities of this kind.

The volume from which the present fac-simile is copied, is

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certainly one of the most remarkable specimens of the middle class of this kind of manuscripts. Its Italian origin is at once evident, both in the writing and illumination.

The subject of the latter is a full-length figure, covered with a tunic and mantle, embroidered at the hem, with naked feet, holding a roll in his right hand, the left being extended; the head is venerable in its expression, with a long beard, and surrounded by a golden nimbus, which, according to the rules of Christian art, (like the radiated pagan crown,) indicates the celestial character of the personage; a symbol which, in the third century, was reserved for Christ and his divine mother, soon afterwards became attributed to the angels and apostles, and subsequent to the fifth century, was bestowed on all the saints. The lamb and the four animals of the Evangelists also received the nimbus in the works of the earliest Christian artists, (as the phœnix did with the Romans,) but these animals took the place of the nimbed personages, of whom they were the sacred symbols.

The figure before us is that of St. Barnabas, one of the first disciples of the Apostles. It is painted on a background of arabesques, inclosed within a zigzag border of gold, surrounded by a broad and very ornamental arabesque, the whole relieved with gold and colors. The ground on which the saint stands is covered with plants, and a fire of faggots is lighted in the right-hand corner; probably in allusion to the voyage which St. Barnabas made with St. Paul, to spread the Christian faith among the Gentiles.

The writing is remarkable for its regular execution; it is a modern Gothic minuscule, large and massive, taller than wide, angular, and conjoined; the words separate and punctuated, some of the top-strokes ending in a fork; and ornamented with initial letters of gold. This writing, which has but few abbreviations, is easy to read, and contains the Office of the Saint represented in the miniature. Both in the

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writing and drawing we find all the characters peculiar to the commencement of the fifteenth century* in Italy.

PLATE CLVIII.

DIPLOMATIC MINUSCULE WRITING OF ITALY.

XVTH CENTURY.

ACT OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF FLORENCE, IN 1439.

Pope Eugenius IV. convoked a council at Ferrara, the first sitting of which took place on the 10th of January, 1438; on the 9th of April following, the Greek bishops assisted at it, and the council from that time was declared to be a General Council for the re-union of the two Churches, Greek and Latin, convened on the part of the Pope, with the consent of the Emperor of the East, John Paleologus II., of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and of all the Fathers who were there assembled. On the 10th of January following, the council was transferred to Florence, where the first session was held on the 26th of February, and on the 6th of July the *Decree of Union* of the two Churches was published.

Of all the constitutions of Pope Eugenius IV. this Decree is the most celebrated, relating, as it does, to one of the most prominent events of ecclesiastical history in the fifteenth century; it was intended to have been a monument of the eternal union of the two Christian Churches, but they have not ceased to continue separate.

The original Decree was drawn up and signed before the

* On the Plate it is marked *fourteenth* century, by the fault of the engraver.—Ed.

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breaking up of the assembly, and four copies were made and signed a few days afterwards. The original was signed by the Pope, the Emperor, and one hundred and thirteen Latin ecclesiastical dignitaries, and thirty Greek dignitaries*. The four copies, which were to represent the original act, were variously signed, as proved by those which still exist. One of these copies has furnished the subject of the present Plate.

The first line is written in majuscule Gothic letters, the initial E of which is in white and black, ornamented with a pattern, the interior being filled up with coats of arms and figures; the words which follow are also written in majuscule Gothic letters, extravagantly elongated and ornamented. The succeeding lines are written in elegant diplomatic minuscule letters, similar to those of manuscripts.

The document which has supplied this fine specimen is a sheet of parchment, 32½ inches wide by 25½ in length. A bar, ornamented with colored scroll-work, heightened with gold, divides it vertically into two equal parts; one being occupied by the Latin, and the other by the Greek text of the Decree of Union.

At the foot of the Latin text the Pope Eugenius has placed his signature, and the Emperor of the East has affixed his at the bottom of the Greek text. The dignitaries of each Communion have inscribed their names after their respective superiors; and the Greek historian of the Council of Florence† has furnished us with details relative to the execution of this formality, which are not entirely

* By what authority MM. Champollion state the *number* of the signatures attached to this *original* Decree, does not appear, nor is it known what became of this *original*.—Ed.

† *Vera historia Unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos, sive Concilii Florentini exactissima narratio, Græce scripta per Sylv. Sguropulum, magnum ecclesiarcham*, etc., *translulit in Lat. Rob. Creyghton, S. Th. Doct.* Hag. Com. 1660, folio. The work is dedicated to Charles II.—Ed.

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confirmed by the still existing copies of this celebrated document.

According to this historian, the four copies made after the conclusion of the Council were signed by the Emperor and all the Greek dignitaries, with the exception of the Protosyncellus Gregorius, who only signed the original. A fifth copy was also made, which the Greek fathers obstinately refused to sign, although the Pope, Emperor, and several of the Latin Fathers, had set them the example*.

We find, however, from the examination of the authentic copies of this decree still existing, that *eleven*† copies were made, and not six, as mentioned by the Greek historian, including the original decree. *Three* of these copies are in the Archives of the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome, one of which still preserves the leaden *bulla* of the Pope, and the golden *bulla* of the Emperor. Two of these bear the signatures of the Pope and the Latin Fathers, but at the foot of the Greek text there is only the signature of the Emperor. In the third copy, on the contrary, is found not only the signature of the Emperor, but also those of the Greek Fathers‡. *Three* other copies are stated to be preserved at Rome, one of which is in the Vatican library§, and another in the archives

* This is not correct. Sygropulus states, that the Pope *asked* for *five* copies of the original, one of which was to remain with the Greeks, the rest to be sent to the sovereigns of the West. The Emperor objected, and thought that two copies were sufficient. The Pope insisted on having at least *four* copies, and obtained them. The Greek fathers refused at first to sign them, unless their stipends were paid, but at length they all signed, except the Protosyncellus, p. 303.—Ed.

† The French editors are here again in error, as will appear below. Only *ten* copies are specified.—Ed.

‡ This third copy is stated by the Benedictines, *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.*, tom. v., p. 315, *n.*, to have been found at Venice, and sent to Pope Julius III. in the sixteenth century.—Ed.

§ This is the copy which previously belonged to Maffei, who gave it to Pope Clement XII. See the *Istoria Diplomatica*, p. 86, 1727, fol., *Mus. Veronense*, p. cx. 1749, fol., and *Nouv. Tr.*, tom. i. p. 172. The

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of the Chapter of St. Peter. The Emperor has signed these three copies, but it does not appear that the Latin Fathers signed them.

A *seventh* copy was preserved in a chapel of the ancient palace at Florence. This was signed by a greater number (120) of the Latin prelates than the other copies*. An *eighth* copy exists in the archives of Bologna, signed by the Pope, the Emperor, and eight Latin Fathers, but by none of the Greeks; this is, probably, the fifth copy mentioned by the historian of the Council, as that which the Greek prelates refused to sign†. A *ninth* copy was remarkable as containing only two Latin signatures, although it bears those of the Emperor and a great number of the Greek dignitaries‡. A *tenth* copy in the Cottonian library at London, was seen by M. de Bréquigny§; and it appeared to him that the signatures were all written by different hands‖. The specimen before us is, therefore, the *eleventh*, and it still bears the leaden *bulla* of the Pope, and the golden *bulla* of the Emperor.

third of these copies is merely said in the *Nouv. Tr.* to be kept under glass, but in what collection is not specified.—Ed.

* Maffei regarded this as the *primitivo*. In addition to the signatures of the Pope and Latins, it had the Emperor's subscription in red, and the names of thirty-two Greek bishops. Attached was the imperial *bulla* in gold, *Ist. Dipl.*, p. 86. The same writer notices the copy at Bologna.—Ed.

† An error, as proved above, since a *fifth* copy, although *asked* for, was not *obtained*, as stated by the historian.—Ed.

‡ This was Maffei's copy, and the same that is noticed previously as being in the Vatican.—Ed.

§ *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxvii., p. 532. 4to., 1774

‖ This copy is preserved in the Cottonian manuscript, Cleop. E. III. fol. 78. It has the signatures of the Pope and forty-two Latin dignitaries, all of which are *autograph*, and at the bottom is the name of *Blondus*, better known as Flavio Biondi, the historian, who was Secretary to Pope Eugenius. The signature of the Emperor is in red, as in other copies, and none of the Greek Fathers have signed. The notes in this instrument still remain, through which the strings of the *bullæ* were passed.—Ed.

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The learned men who have studied this document, affirm correctly, that among all the copies of it which exist, there are not two exactly alike; a singular, but true, observation, which may also be applied to documents of every period throughout the middle ages. The custom either of multiplying the originals, or of making copies executed with the same formalities and signatures, was very common; and in order to distinguish the copies from the originals, we must adopt the method recommended by the most skilful diplomatists*, namely, to ascertain the existence of the seals, or, at least, the traces of their existence; these being sufficient to characterize the original and distinguish it from the copies, however numerous they may have been.

By applying this principle to the Act of the Council of Florence, we shall ascertain the original amongst the eleven documents above noticed by the two seals attached to it, and the signature of the Protosyncellus Gregorius; and the four copies made in lieu of the original, by the existence or by the evident traces of these two seals, namely, of the Pope and the Emperor, independent of the signatures. The specimen before us is, consequently, one of these four copies, as it bears the two seals, as well as the original signature of the Emperor, as follows:—

† Ιω̄ [Ἰωάννης] ἐν Χω̄ [Χριστῷ] τῳ Θῳ̃ [Θεῷ] πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίω[ν] ὁ Παλαιόλογος.

"*John Paleologus, believer in Jesus-Christ God, King, and Emperor of the Romans.*"

These words are written in red ink, which was an imperial privilege, and a strict prescription of the protocol, which was sometimes imitated by the French kings of the second race. The Greek or Frank Emperors of Constantinople invariably used red ink to sign the acts issued by their authority.

* *Nouv. Tr.*, tom. i., p. 173.—Ed.

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This signature of the Emperor John Paleologus II. appears to be almost the only original one amongst those attached at the foot of the Greek text of the decree. There is no foundation for the opinion often expressed*, that this document is the actual *original* of this celebrated decree,—founded on the statement furnished by the Greek historian of the Council, that the Protosyncellus Gregorius had only signed the original decree, and the occurrence of the signature of this great officer on the present copy in the second line of the Greek signatures, . . . μέγας πρωτοσύγκελλος, . . . Γρηγόριος ἱερομόναχος ὑπεγρά'ψα,—since these words are evidently written by the same hand which has copied in thirteen consecutive lines the individual signatures of the thirty Greek dignitaries. Our document, therefore, is only one of the four *copies* executed after the termination of the General Council.

The shield of arms inserted in the lower part of the initial letter of this copy would lead to a similar conclusion, the arms being those of Burgundy; and it might well be asked why the arms of a French prince should be found so prominently placed in an Act, in which Burgundy was not more interested than any other part of Christendom. It may be at once supposed, however, that Philip the Good, Duke and Count of Burgundy, would demand and obtain an authentic copy of the Decree of Union, having been represented at the Council by two Bishops and the Archdeacon of Troyes, his three ambassadors. Thus we read in the first column of the signatures of the Latin dignitaries, (the greater part of which are original) those of the Bishops of Térouanne and Nevers†, in these terms:—

* *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.*, tom. i. p. 171; tom. v., pp. 314–316. *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibl. Royale*, No. 430.

† It is singular, that in the Cottonian copy of this Decree, the name of the Bishop of Térouanne should be omitted, although that of his coadjutor appears, with the same adjunct to his name as in the copy noticed above.—Ed.

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† *Ego Johannes episcopus Morinensis, domini ducis Burgundiæ orator, subscripsi.*

† *Ego Johannes episcopus Nivernensis, dicti domini Ducis orator, subscripsi.*

The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses, therefore, the copy of the Decree of Union put forth at the Council of Florence, which was made for Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. It was previously in the library of Colbert.

The fac-simile is to be read:—

EUGENIUS Ēp̄s [*Episcopus*] SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD. . . Consentiente ad infrascripta carissimo filio n̄ro [*nostro*] Johanne Paleologo, Romeor*um* Imperatore illustri, et locatenentibus venerabilium fratrum n̄ror [*nostrorum*] Patriarchar*um*, et ceteris orientalem eccle*s*iam representantibus. Letentur celi et exultet terra; sublatus est enim de medio paries, qui occidentalem orientalemq*ue* dividebat Eccle*s*iam, et pax atq*ue* concordia rediit illo angulari lapide X̄po [*Christo*], qui fecit utram*que* . . . Dat. Florentie, in sessione publica synodali, solenniter in eccle*s*ia majori celebrata, Anno Incarnationis dominice, Millesimo quadrigentesimo tricesimo nono.

The shield which occupies the upper part of the initial E, is that of the Pope Eugenius IV., who belonged to the illustrious family of Condolmerio of Venice, and was nephew of Pope Gregory XII. His arms are *azure*, a bend *argent* supported by two angels, and surmounted by the papal crown. The keys, which form the other distinctive insignia of the Popedom, are not represented*.

* This is an error. The papal keys are introduced on a separate shield of *gules*, painted above the Pope's name.—ED.

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PLATE CLIX.

MINUSCULE ROMAN WRITING OF ITALY.

XVTH CENTURY.

MANUSCRIPT OF VIRGIL, BELONGING TO PAUL PETAU.

THE Virgil, of which one of the pages is here represented, is not to be classed among the more celebrated manuscripts of this poet; but, nevertheless, merits a distinguished place among the fine palæographic productions of Italy, being, doubtless, one of the most perfect of its kind.

This manuscript, of a narrow quarto form, consists of 228 leaves of the choicest white vellum, and of a perfectly uniform size. Each page contains 32 lines, with very wide margins.

It contains nearly all the works of Virgil, with the commentaries of the grammarian Servius; that is to say, not only the *Bucolics, Georgics,* and the *Æneid,* but many other poems attributed to the same poet, and the greater portion of the pieces collected together under the name of Epigrams or *Catalecta.* Other compositions have also been introduced, which cannot be attributed to Virgil; the hexastic lines on the poet, commencing with the word *Mœonium*; a general argument of the Æneid, in twelve verses (probably by Basilius); another general argument, also in twelve verses, prefixed to each book of the poem, and followed by a second argument of the same book, in ten other hexameters, which extends their number to one hundred and thirty-two lines, and which are attributed in this manuscript to Ovid. The tetrastic verses of the Bucolics, and the four of the Georgics, are not omitted, and are also attributed to Ovid.

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The last book of the Æneid is followed by a poem, intitled *The Edict of Augustus*, written in letters of gold; three Epigrams, followed by the *Labors of Hercules*; a final piece, attributed to Ovid; the *Life of Virgil*, in prose, attributed to Donatus; and the whole is terminated by the poem intitled *Culex*, or the Gnat.

The fac-simile represents the commencement of the poem intitled *Moretum*, which is placed in the volume between the Georgics and the Æneid, immediately after the Epitaph of the poet, preceded by his verses to Augustus.

This little comic poem is attributed to the youthful muse of Virgil. A Milanese manuscript assigns it to a Greek writer, Parthenius, the master of Virgil, of which the Latin text is only a translation. It has also been ascribed to Aulus Septimius Severus.

The subject of the poem is trifling; the word *Moretum*, given as its title, signifying a kind of cake, composed of flour, salt, herbs, and cheese, and its preparation by a countryman is here described, in the time between his rising and going to work in the fields. The critics uniformly give 123 lines to this poem*, but in the present manuscript there are 124. A verse which is not found in the printed editions† is inserted after the 76th line, (*Grataque nobilium requies lactuca ciborum,*) and reads as follows, *Plurimaque in terram detrudit acumina radix*, which completes the description of the lettuce.

These details will furnish an explanation of the subject of the miniature in the fac-simile at the foot of the text. A man prepares the *moretum* in a mortar, whilst his housewife takes care of the pot, in which the liquids are placed which enter into the composition of this dish.

Similar vignettes, representing the subjects in the text of

* Schœll, *Histoire abrégée de la littérature Latine*, tom. i., p. 34.

† This verse is also wanting in the edition of Le Maire, *Poetæ minores*, tom. i., p. 628.

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the manuscript, occur in the lower margins of many of its pages.

All the titles are written in letters of gold, and are either capitals or Roman minuscules, finely formed. Miniatures, admirably executed, fill up the open spaces of the initials of each chief division of the volume. Rich arabesques, composed of flowers, fruits, and animals, illuminated and heightened with gold in exquisite taste, accompany the initial letters of the subdivisions of the text, of which the fac-simile offers a specimen in the ornaments accompanying the initial I. of the first verse.

Jam nox hibernas bis quinque peregerat horas, *etc.*

A slightly angular minuscule writing, approaching to the Gothic, with the words very distinct, is used for the text; each line commencing with a capital of the same character. Its date is the middle of the fifteenth century, and of Italian execution, as appears by this subscription at the end of the Æneid:—

Publii Virgilii Maronis Eneidos XIIe. et ultimus explicit, manu Leonardi Sanuti, pro inclito Venetorum dominio tunc Ferrarie Vice domini, MCCCCLVIII. die decimo Octobris.

This beautiful manuscript was therefore executed by Leonardo Sanuti, Governor of Ferrara under the State of Venice, in 1458. The shield of arms of *Sanudi*, an ancient patrician family of Venice, originally of Città-Nuova, figures, in fact, among the ornaments of the manuscript, at the commencement of the Æneid. This volume passed from the library of the Councillor P. Petau, after his death in 1614, to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, (No. 7939. *A.*)

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PLATE CLX.

LATIN WRITING OF ITALY.

END OF THE XVTH CENTURY.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY.

CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY, a Greek writer of Egypt, was a contemporary of the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. He composed a great number of works relative to different branches of mathematics; preparing the way, in some respects, for Kepler, who in like manner prepared it for Newton. We owe to him the discovery of astronomical refraction, and the only vestiges of experimental physics which can be discovered in the writings of the Greeks. If Ptolemy was not a first-rate observer as an astronomer, he, at least, deserves the title of a distinguished writer and excellent calculator, well able to form and combine hypotheses; he was, indeed, reputed the *prince of astronomers*, but he himself gave precedence to the name and works of Hipparchus*.

Ptolemy composed a treatise of geography, the most complete which has come down to us from antiquity; it is also the best known of all the works of the Grecian geometrician, and in the middle ages was translated into Arabic and Latin.

A magnificent manuscript of this Latin version of the Greek geography of Ptolemy†, has furnished us with the present fac-simile; the letters and ornaments of which are

* Delambre, *Histoire de l'Astronomie Ancienne*, tom. i., *Disc. Prélim.* p. xvi.

† In the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, No. 4802.—ED.

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worthy of the time and country in which the volume was executed, namely Italy, in the fifteenth century.

This volume is equally remarkable for its large size, the perfect whiteness of the vellum, the beauty of its writing (which is the old bastard Roman, or, more generally, the rounded Italian writing), the multitude of the ornamental letters, heightened with gold, and the richness and good taste of the borders, as also for the great number of maps of ancient and contemporary geography, with which the volume is illustrated. It is 21½ inches tall, by 15½ broad. The binding also corresponds with the interior of the volume, being in wood, covered with red morocco, in colored compartments; the middle being occupied by an oval escutcheon in citron-colored morocco, bearing the arms of Henry II. of France; whilst on the scroll-work and open spaces of the background, are *souvenirs* of the beautiful Diane de Poitiers; the letters H and D crowned, and crescents interlaced, forming cyphers, and with bow and quivers of arrows.

The first page of the text is surrounded by a broad border, richly executed with the most vivid colors, harmoniously blended, and exhibiting medallions, arabesques, and allegories.

The text is written in double columns, and at the head of the first, this inscription is read in a square tablet:—

JACOPI ANGELI FLORENTINI PRAEFATIO IN COSMOGRAPHIAM PTOLEMAEI, EX GRAECO IN LATINUM TRADUCTAM AD ALEXANDRUM TERTIUM SUMMUM PONTIFICEM, INCIPIT.

This preface commences with the word AD, of which the initial letter, of very large size (four inches), is painted upon a golden ground, surrounded by arabesques; and the interior occupied by a miniature, representing the Pope Alexander seated on the pontifical throne, and giving his benediction to the Latin translator, who presents his work on his knees to the sovereign pontiff.

This translator of the work of Ptolemy into Latin is

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Giacomo Angelo, born in the environs of Florence, a scholar of the Greek Manuel Chrysoloras, who travelled in the Levant, and was promoted, after his return to Rome, to the place of Apostolic Secretary. Historical documents make mention of Angelo until the year 1410.

This date invalidates the correctness of the inscription given above. Angelo, who lived at the commencement of the fifteenth century, could not dedicate his version to Pope Alexander III., who held the see in 1159; nor to Alexander IV., in the middle of the thirteenth century. Alexander V was, however, the contemporary of Giacomo Angelo; and it is to this pontiff that he dedicated his work, as stated in other manuscripts of it.

The text in the Plate is to be read thus:—

COSMOGRAPHIAE PTOLEMAEI ALEXANDRINI EX GRAECO IN LATINUM TRADUCTAE PER JACOPUM ANGELUM FLORENTINUM LIBER TERTIUS INCIPIT.

Expositionem partis orientalis Europe, juxta subjectas provintias aut satrapias. Italiam totam. Cirnum insulam. Sardiniam insulam. Siciliam insulam. Sarmatiam Europe. Tauricam Chersonesum. Jazeges metanastas. Datiam. Myssiam superiorem. Tratiam Chersonesum. Macedoniam. Epirum. Achaiam. Peloponesum. Euboiam insulam. et Cretam insulam.

Italie situs.

Italia limites habet ab occidente Alpium juga juxta lineam que extenditur a monte Adula usq*ue* ad Vari fluvii hostia, q*uo*rum gradus 27½. 43. Preterea litus Tireni pelagi, a Neapoli scilicet usque Leucopetram.

The bibliographical notices concerning this manuscript are ample, a circumstance of rare occurrence in regard to volumes remarkable for their fine execution. At the close of the seventh book of the text of Ptolemy, the writer has recorded his name; it is Ugo Comminelli, born in France, and who humbly styles himself the least of scribes. He wrote also the eighth book, which is composed specially of maps drawn from the text of Ptolemy, and of geographical tables, containing the

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longitudes and latitudes. These maps are twenty-seven in number, are drawn on a plane projection to a large scale; they are colored, and have the names of the chief places written in letters of gold. Petrus Massarius, a Florentine, has added a subscription at the end of the geographical tables, which states that these maps are of his composition*.

Seven other geographical maps, contemporary with the manuscript, are added to those of the ancient world of Ptolemy. They represent Spain, France, Italy, Tuscany, the Morœa, the Isle of Candia, and Egypt. These are followed by plans of ten celebrated cities, namely, Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, Adrianople, Constantinople, Damascus, Jerusalem, Cairo, and Alexandria in Egypt. These plans are so many monuments of the ancient state of these rich cities, their principal edifices being represented in some detail; and they form valuable materials for the history and statistics of these places in the fifteenth century. The maps possess an equal interest,—Aigues-Mortes, for instance, is already placed in them at a distance from the sea-coast. The names of places are written in the cursive Italian characters of the period; and in the map of France are found all the faults of orthography which might be expected to proceed from the pen of a stranger to that country. Thus we find *Bordeos, Nicrac, Orlians, Bourée-Bresse, Grinopole, Muselica, Ces,* for Bordeaux, Nérac, Orléans, Bourg-en-Bresse, Grenoble, Marseilles, and Seez. The Garonne is named *Veronica.* These mistakes scarcely diminish the value of these curious maps, for geographical manuscripts of the middle ages are well known to be among the rarest productions of the period.

We cannot but observe, that the Geography of Ptolemy (his most interesting work) was not translated into French, although two French translations were made of another

* *Scripsit Ugo Comminelli, ex Francia natus; composuitque Petrus Massarius, Florentinus,* fol. 123.

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of his works (the *Tetrabiblos* or *Quadripartitum*, a treatise on judicial astrology), which could only have appeared worthy of such labor to minds imbued with a false science, of which there were unfortunately too many at the period when these versions were completed.

One of these translations was made by order of Charles V. —then Dauphin, Duke of Normandy, and Governor of the kingdom, during the captivity of King John, (1356—1360),— as is announced in the *Prohème* of the translator, Guillaume (or Nicolas?) Oresme, one of the learned men of the fourteenth century, who thus expresses himself:—

"Et pour ce, les vaillans Roys de France on[t] fait aucuns livres translater en François, et principalment la divine escripture, et certaines hystoires plaines de bons examples, et dignes de mémoire; desquels roys est issu Charles, hoir de France, à présent gouverneur du royaulme, qui nulle vertu ne veut trespasser ne laissier, en laquelle il ne ensuive, ou sourmonte ces bons prédecesseurs. Et après ce qu'il a en son language l'escripture divine, il veut aussi avoir des livres en françois de la plus noble science de cest siècle, c'est vraie astrologie, sans superstecion, et par especial ce qu'en ont composé les philosophes excillens et approuvés.

Et quant à présent, à son commandement, par moy G. Orésme sera translaté, à l'aide de Dieu, de latin en françois, *le Quadriperti* de Ptholomée, ouveques le commentaire Haly." *etc**.

Men of learning, who are truly sensible of the services rendered by Ptolemy to astronomy and geography, will refuse to believe him to have been the author of such idle works as the *Quadripartitum* and other astrological reveries.

* *Mss. Fr. de la Bibl. Roy.*, No. 7483⁴. The quotations are faithfully transcribed from the ancient texts, with the orthography of the MSS.

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PLATE CLXI.

SEMI-GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

MISSAL OF CARDINAL FRANCESCO CORNARO.

THE rapid succession of public events in Italy during the sixteenth century, often gave a singular destiny to the most celebrated of her citizens; and we find the name of the same person introduced in the annals of politics, the fine arts, religion, and warfare. This was the case with Francesco Cornaro, one of the most distinguished members of the patrician family of Cornaro (in Latin, *Cornelius*), from which sprang three Doges of Venice, a Queen of Cyprus, a female doctor of philosophy in the university of Padua, and many celebrated statesmen and high ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Francesco, bred to arms, fought with the Venetians in 1509 against the French, and rallied the troops of the Republic after their defeat at Ghiaradadda. He subsequently defended Padua against the Imperial army, and preserved the city from their attacks. During the leisure of peace, he directed his attention to letters, and acquired considerable erudition. He visited the Holy Land, and at his return was appointed ambassador to the Emperor Charles V., whom he accompanied into Germany, Spain, and the Low Countries. Everywhere he was remarkable for the powers of his mind, and the habitual success of his undertakings.

So many and such good services merited and obtained the notice of the head of the Church; and Francesco Cornaro was created a cardinal by Pope Clement VII., in the same year (1527) that the Constable de Bourbon renewed at Rome the

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atrocities of Alaric. Nominated also Bishop of Brescia, Albano, and Palestrini, Francesco Cornaro sedulously discharged all his episcopal duties, being as distinguished in his diocese for piety, as he was in the College of Cardinals for profound learning. He died in September, 1543, being then scarcely 65 years old. His brother Mark was also invested with the Roman purple.

For nearly a century the art of printing with moveable types had now multiplied its almost miraculous productions, and diffused its benefits over both worlds; changing the destinies of the once powerful body of scribes, whose profession soon afterwards became entirely of a mercantile character.

From this period, and owing to these circumstances, manuscripts were no longer written for the learned public; and if some few are to be found executed in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, they are only to be considered as objects of luxury and taste, uniting the most perfect specimens of the calligraphy of the period with ornaments so carefully and skilfully executed by miniaturists and painters, as to class their works amongst the most remarkable monuments of the history of art, since its renovation in modern times. Such is the case with the fine manuscript from which the present fac-simile has been copied.

This manuscript is of very large size, and is preserved in the library of La Minerva at Rome, where it is known by the title of the Missal of Cardinal Francesco Cornaro; its preservation and execution are equally perfect. Ancient and modern art are united in it; and the initial letters are admirable in their forms, and full of taste in their proportions. The initial R in the fac-simile is a specimen. It is enclosed within a square frame, two sides of which are ornamented with foliated arabesques of very graceful execution. The vertical limb of the letter is composed of four pieces, united together in the middle by a large pearl; the loop, of a most perfect curve,

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is prolonged into a flower, which occupies the open space; the tail is formed of the inclined head of a dolphin, terminating in a spiral; whilst another flower springing from the base of the vertical stroke, elegantly fills up the interior. The D at the commencement of the prayer below is in the same style, but smaller and not so rich. Gold and the brightest colors, harmoniously blended together, add to the splendor of these illuminations.

The writing of the accompanying Latin text is equally deserving of praise. It is large, massive, broad, and upright, with the words well interspaced; the letters not truncated, but with square bases, as well as the top-strokes and tails, which are generally short. Many letters are united together, and the words are often divided at the ends of the lines; to produce a regular punctuation, one and two points are introduced; the *i* is accentuated; no peculiar abbreviations occur; and if the general aspect of the writing classes it as Gothic, it is to be observed, that many of the letters are pure and regular small Roman, mingled with the pointed Gothic, the latter shewing but few angles; the *m* and *n*, in general, are not broken; and even when broken strokes occur, they are softened down. The text, therefore, exhibits both the old and new, the Gothic and renovated Roman characters; it was written, in fact, at the moment of the *renaissance*, at a time when the Gothic was not yet obsolete, nor the Roman entirely dominant. It is only semi-Gothic, the offspring of the brilliant sixteenth century. This Missal bears the date of 1538.

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PLATE CLXII.

MINUSCULE ITALIAN WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

THE COMMEDIA DIVINA OF DANTE, ORNAMENTED WITH MINIATURES BY GIULIO CLOVIO.

THERE are but few individuals of modern times whose memory and writings have received such universal homage throughout Europe, as has been rendered to Dante Alighieri, the creator of Italian literature. He was one of the magnates of Florence, a conscientious, but at the same time impassioned, citizen, and a sublime poet; and his life and works have found an able translator and historian in M. le Chevalier Artaud de Montor, to whom France is indebted for the perfect knowledge of the *Divine Comedy*, and the biography of its author*. From his researches we are enabled to learn the real value of this great poem; and to regard it as a literary pharos, illuminating the darkness of the thirteenth century, and by a happy analogy with the eternal poems of Homer, (which constitute a real encyclopædia of the heroic period,) to recognise in the *Divine Comedy* a complete tableau of the state of human knowledge at the time and in the country of Dante.

Dante was, in fact, in advance of the times; in him were united the genius, virtues, and sometimes the faults, of his country; by turns a victor and vanquished, a man of letters but full of action, although born in a powerful position, he

* *Traduction de la Divine Comédie de Dante, avec le texte en regard; le Paradis*, 1811; *l'Enfer*, 1812; *le Purgatoire*, 1813: nouv. edit., 1828—1830. *Histoire de Dante Alighieri*, Paris, 1841. 8vo.

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became reduced to the most desolate misery, and condemned to be burnt alive, took refuge at Paris, where he sought in the schools of theology, without perhaps finding it, some diversion of his griefs; and unceasingly occupied with the remembrance of his country, which had rejected him, he died at Ravenna, in 1321.

Numerous manuscripts (some of them nearly contemporary with the author) afford unquestionable proofs of the fame which the works of Dante soon obtained. Italy, so passionate and poetic, found in them an aliment for her memory, a faith for her hopes, a hell for her oppressors. Politicians and theologians, poets and philosophers, copied and studied the *Divine Comedy* unceasingly; its scenes were represented on movable theatres at Paris; the art of printing multiplied the copies from the year 1472, when the first edition was published in the Roman States, and in the twenty-ninth edition, published in 1516, the title of *Divina Commedia* was inseparably consecrated to it. In vain have endeavours been made to alarm the Pontifical Court, on account of the tendency of the works of Dante: Clement XII. accepted the dedication of the edition published at Lucca, Pius VI. encouraged P. Lombardo, in 1791, as Pius VII. did M. de Romanis, in 1815. The capital of Christendom thus claims its share in all the glories of Italy.

We learn, therefore, without surprise, that the admirable manuscript of the *Divine Comedy*, which has furnished the present Plate, belongs to the Roman Government, and forms part of the celebrated collection of manuscripts of the Vatican. Its date is, in itself, a homage to the memory of Dante, having been executed in the sixteenth century, nearly 200 years after printing had reproduced his works.

The execution of this manuscript, however, was not a capricious or unconsidered task; commentators and critics had previously explained the opinions of the poet; geome-

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tricians had drawn up charts of the three eternal kingdoms described by him; and painters, in their turn, were desirous of tracing the principal scenes of his imaginary travels. Here it is we find Giulio Clovio, one of the most celebrated artists of the Italian school, lending his pencil to the task. A Croatian by birth, and a canon regular by profession, he was happily led into the study of miniature painting by his master Giulio Romano. The history of the life and works of Clovio is full of marvels; and it is certain that his genius gave birth to the boldness of design of the Roman school, uniting therewith a graceful effect of coloring and a delicacy of touch. He painted great works in infinitely minute figures; so small, indeed, that according to Vasari, they were not larger than an ant*.

The manuscript of the Vatican contains the miniatures of Clovio in some portions only of this great poem. The one which is represented in the Plate, is at the head of the third canto of the *Paradiso.*

Quel sol, che pria d'amor mi scaldò 'l petto,
Di bella verità m'avea scoverto,
Provando, e riprovando il dolce aspetto:
Ed io, per confessar corretto e certo
Me stesso, tanto, quanto si convenne,
Levoi lo capo a profferer più erto, *etc.*

The poet learns from Beatrice, who accompanies him, that these figures are Piccarda, Constance of Swabia, and other *splendori.* This is the subject of the miniature.

The text is written in Roman minuscule letters of the sixteenth† century, which is the date of this precious manuscript.

* Vasari, however, does not notice the Dante among the productions of Clovio, and according to M. Jeanron, in his comment on this writer, the miniatures in the present volume "ne sont dignes ni du poëme ni de la réputation exagérée qu'on leur a faite." *Vies des Peintres,* tom. vii., p. 233.—Ed.

† Marked *fifteenth* century on the Plate, by error.—Ed.

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PLATE CLXIII.

VENETIAN WRITING.

OF THE BEGINNING OF THE XVIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

[THERE is no descriptive text of this Plate, which is only interesting as a fine specimen of comparatively modern penmanship.—ED.]

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§ II. ROMAN AND GOTHIC WRITINGS OF FRANCE.

PLATE CLXIV.

CURSIVE ROMANO-GALLICAN WRITING.

VITH CENTURY.

FRAGMENT OF THE HOMILIES OF ST. AVIT, ON PAPYRUS.

THE present fac-simile exhibits a specimen of one of the rarest varieties of Latin writing, and of which the fewest monuments have survived to our times; first, on account of their great age, and secondly, from the fragile material on which the texts are written. These specimens are of the highest value to France, as exhibiting her most ancient national writing.

Without stopping to investigate what system of writing was in use among the Gauls before the Roman invasion, we must take for granted the introduction of Latin writing throughout all the Gaulish provinces which successively succumbed to the invaders; and that this kind of writing became more and more general, in proportion as the authority of the conquerors became confirmed, and their ideas and language were adopted by the conquered: in proportion, in short, as the Gauls became more and more Romanized.

As all the acts of the Roman administration were drawn up in Latin, it was of course necessary that the Gauls should study and appropriate to themselves the language and writing of the

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Romans. The same writing was, therefore, used in Gaul as at Rome, so that the Benedictine authors of the *Nouveau Traité* have affirmed, that the resemblance between the Gaulish writing, which they name *Gallican*, with the Roman writing in manuscripts and documents, is so great, that the one may be mistaken for the other. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding the rarity of manuscripts of this kind, they have discovered certain differences between them; ranging the whole under the name of ancient Gallican cursive writing, and placing in their first division the writing of the present fac-simile, which they call *Roman-Gallican.*

This fine and rare specimen is copied from a manuscript written on Egyptian papyrus, belonging to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and containing on fifteen leaves (the relics of a much larger volume) a portion of the Homilies and Letters of St. Avit, Bishop of Vienne, in Dauphiny, who died in the year 525.

This manuscript appears to have come from the ancient treasury of the Metropolitan Church of Lyons, and to be one of those mentioned by Guillaume Paradin, the historian of that city, in his work published in 1573*; and it will be seen by the subjoined passage, what the opinions were in France of the nature of papyrus in the middle of the sixteenth century.

"Aucuns ont estimé," says Paradin, "que ces livres sont de toille, les autres, de joncs du Nil, parcequ'il *semble* qu'il y a des filamens: il y en a, qui ont opinion que ce sont petites pièces de bois, collées et rapportées l'une à l'autre; car il y en a aucunes, qui semblent se décoller, et ne peut-on bonnement *deviner* que c'est."

We are better informed at the present day, for since the commencement of the nineteenth century Egypt has opened her antique archives; and it has been reserved for modern

* *Mémoires de l'Histoire de Lyon*, p. 103, 1573, fol.—Ed.

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science to discover numerous manuscripts in the Pharaonic *hypogæa*, some of which are contemporary with the most ancient edifices of Thebes, whilst others do not extend back further than the era of the earliest Christian monuments. The sceptical opinions, therefore, of some diplomatic writers, relative to the preservation of Latin manuscripts on papyrus of the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era, must wholly vanish before these Egyptian papyri, which date from the seventeenth century before the same era.

Sicily also manufactured papyrus, and in conjunction with Egypt, furnished Europe with a supply, until the cotton paper from the Levant supplanted, in general use, both papyrus and parchment. The present manuscript of St. Avit is anterior to this innovation. It is certain, that this volume belonged to the library of the learned Jacques-Auguste de Thou, or of the unfortunate François-Auguste de Thou, beheaded in 1662, about which period it came into the Bibliothèque Royale; and, although it has been examined by the editors of the works of St. Avit, yet some portions of the text still remain inedited.

The Benedictines have given the writing of this manuscript as the first species of the cursive Gallican writing, which they term *Romano-Gallican*, approaching to the most elegant and majestic cursive Roman. The writing of the fac-simile is, evidently, both elegant and free. The first letter, F, appears to have been formed by a single stroke of the reed-pen, and carried above the line to half its height; the other letters are, in general, large and massive; the tails very long, terminated in a blunted point; the top-strokes very high and clavate: although cursive, this writing is, nevertheless, broad, with spaces between the letters; the words not divided, but characterized by a great number of ligatures, as *ci* and *en* in the first word, *faciens; ae* and *lesti* in *cœlestis;* the *a* is open when it has not the form of **a**; and some uncial letters are

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united with the cursive ones. The more this fac-simile is examined, the more remarkable will it appear, as a specimen of the Gallican writing of the sixth century.

PLATE CLXV.

DIPLOMATIC FRENCH WRITING.

VII.TH CENTURY.

MEROVINGIAN CHARTERS ON PAPYRUS.

We have united on the Plate belonging to this article, two specimens of Merovingian writing, copied from two charters on Egyptian papyrus, derived from the ancient diplomatic treasury of the royal Abbey of St. Denis, in France. These two specimens thus brought together, exhibit two kinds of writing, differing materially from each other in their graphic characters, and which, although written in the same century, were executed at an interval of sixty years from each other.

The upper specimen is taken from a charter of King Dagobert I., by which this prince confirmed the division of patrimonial property made between one of his *fideles*, named Ursinus, styled *vir inluster*, and a certain Beppolenus. The first line of the instrument contains the name of the king, *Dagobercthus Rex Francor*[*um*], *vir inlust*[*er*], followed by the text, which is to be read:—

Quotienscumque piticioneb[*us fi*]dilium personarum in quo nostris fuerint [*pate*]facti, [*eas p*]er [*s*]ingo[*la libenter volum*]us obaudire et [*effect*]ui in D[*e*]i n[*o*]m[*ine*] man[*cipari. Adque ideo*] vir in[*lu*]ster et [*f*]edi[*lis Deo*] propicio, noster Urs[*in*]us, [*c*]limen[*tiae*] regni [*n*]ostri [*petiit*], ut de id quod u[*na cum B*]eppoleno in divisio[*nis p*]aginam, tam ex success[*io*]ne [*g*]e[*n*]eturi [*suo Ch*]rod[*ole*]no [*qu*]am g[*er*]man[*o*] . . .

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These lines contain only the exposition of the object of the charter; it is, however, of considerable extent*, and is subscribed in these terms,—*Dagobercthus Rex subs*[*cripsi*] *Burgondofaro optol*[*i*]. The critics who have examined this document, suppose that the Referendary Burgondofaro, who subscribed it, is the same person as Faro, who is known from other charters; who, having renounced the married state, and caused his wife to take the veil, became a clerk, and subsequently obtained the dignities of Bishop and Referendary. The date unanimously assigned to this charter, otherwise destitute of any chronological character, is A.D. 628. It is, unquestionably, one of the most precious monuments extant, relative to the national history of France; and to its antiquity, it unites the rare merit of being written on papyrus. Its preservation is quite accidental, since Mabillon discovered it among the archives of St. Denis, serving as an envelope to other documents regarded as more valuable; and, unfortunately, this was not a solitary example, since it is on record, that at St. Denis, the Merovingian diplomas were wholly neglected, from a firm conviction of their uselessness, on account of there being no person who could decypher them!

The writing of that of Dagobert I. is, nevertheless, not very difficult to read, its characters being minuscule-cursive, elegant, and wide; the letters very distinct, approaching to the Roman, and boldly written; the top-strokes and tails straight, but tall and elongated, so as to join in passing from one line to another. The form of the letter *q* should be remarked in the middle of the words; as also of *o* and *a*, (united to the *u* in *obaudire*,) *u* and *v*, represented by the same letter *v*, and the ligature of several of the letters towards the left. We have here, therefore, the Roman minuscule characters greatly

* See the entire charter in Marini, *I Papiri Diplomatici*, fol. Rom. 1805, p. 96.—Ed.

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degenerated, but which were, doubtless, executed by one of the most able scribes of the time.

In the lower specimen the writing is of a different character, being a cursive Franco-Gallic hand, in the state alike removed from its commencement and decline, less regular than in the former state, and less complicated than in the second. The words are not separated; many of the letters are united or conjoined; the top-strokes are very tall, and touch the preceding line; the tails are long and acute; those of the *q* are inclined from left to right. The Roman N appears both in the middle and at the end of words; *u* is of a singular form, often resembling *s*, the lower loop being incomplete, and terminated by an acute stroke. On the whole, this writing is upright and wide, with the letters and words not divided; but as its chronological characters are wanting, it is only from conjecture that it is attributed to the reign of Thierri III., and to the year 690.

It contains the testament of ——— (the name no longer exists), son of Iddane, who distributes his property after his decease to Chramnetrade his wife, to the church of St. Denis, and other legatees; and we ought not to conclude this notice without remarking, that both these documents contain a considerable number of proper names, nearly all of which are strangers to the Latin language, such as Dagobert, Boppolan, Iddane, Chramnetrade, Meduald, Thorrias, Rodolen, as though the Roman population of Gaul, as well as its civilization, had been absorbed by the Germanic power.

Commencing with the large letter in the second line of the lower fac-simile, we read, *Basilecae sc̄i* [*sancti*] *Dom*[*n*]*i Dionisi Parisius, ubi ipse domnus reꝙuiescit, villare cognomenante Turiliaco, in pago Vilcassino*, etc. It is needless to point out the false Latinity of the seventh century in France.

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PLATE CLXVI.

FRENCH DIPLOMATIC WRITING.

VIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

DIPLOMA OF KING THIERRI III., AND PLEA BEFORE CLOVIS III.

THE two specimens of cursive Merovingian writing, united in the present Plate, exhibit to us at once the evident difference existing at the same period between the writing of diplomas or precepts, and that of pleadings or judgments delivered by lords of fiefs, assisted by their peers and fee-holders; such were the letters or diplomas of the Merovingian kings given in general assemblies of the nation, in order to terminate disputes.

In the pleading, *Placitum*, the last part of which (the judgment) is represented in the second fac-simile on the Plate, the King Clovis III., being then at his palace of Novientum (*Saint-Cloud*), assisted by his *Proceres*, or great men of his Court, decides a dispute existing between the Abbot of St. Denis and an Abbot Ermenoald, who had undertaken to pay 1500lbs. weight of oil, and 100 measures of good wine, which he had not fulfilled. The Abbot of St. Denis, after the *vademonium* or obligation agreed to by Ermenoald, to appear together on a fixed day before the King, repaired to St. Cloud, where he awaited his adversary for many days in vain; whereupon the King decrees, *Proinde nus taliter una cum nostris proceribus constetit decrevisse, ut se evidenter p[er] eoru[m] notitias*, etc.; and towards the end of the fourth line the judgment is recorded in these terms, *Jobemus ut quidquid lex loci vestri de tale causa edocit, memoratus Ermenoaldus*, etc. The debtor is condemned to satisfy his creditor.

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At the end of this text, in the midst of the confused strokes of the *paraphe*, is seen the signature of *Aghilus*, followed by the word *recogn*[*ovit*], being that of the notary or referendary; since it was not usual for the King to sign the *placita*, judgments, or diplomas of minor importance. The date occurs in the last line, where we read, *Dat*[*um*] *quod ficit minsis madius, dies quinq*[*ue*], *ann*[*o*] *secundo regni nostr*[*i*], *Noviento, in D*[*e*]*i nomen*[*e*] *feliciter;* and this date of the 5th of May, in the second year of the reign of Clovis III., corresponds with the same day in the year 692. At the head of the charter the King assumes the simple title of *Chlodovius, Rex Francorum, vir inluster*. Above the line containing the date, the place of the seal, originally fixed to this precious document, may still be remarked.

The instrument from which the upper specimen is taken, is more ancient by fifteen years than the preceding one. The three final lines copied in the Plate, are followed by the signature of the King, by whom this diploma was granted, namely, Thierri III., or Theodoric, King of Neustria and Burgundy, and father of Clovis III. The fac-simile represents this signature in very large, slender letters, the top-strokes and tails of which are disproportionably elongated, some extending over two of the preceding lines:

+ *In Xpi* [*Christi*] *nomene Theudericus Rex scr* [*subscripsi*]. At the side of the King's signature, and on the same line, the Referendary affixed his signature, *Droctoaldus jussus optulit*, in a confused hand, followed by many strokes or Tironian notes. The place of the seal fixed to this document is indicated by the small lozenge-shaped opening, beneath the signature of Droctoaldus.

The original diploma is terminated by the date, which is the 12th September, in the second year of the reign of Thierri III., or A.D. 677.

There is one similarity to be observed in these two docu-

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ments, so valuable for their antiquity, namely, their barbarous Latinity, resulting from the misfortunes of the period. Frankish barbarism had been insufficiently influenced by Roman civilization, and the possession of supreme power was not always the consequence of right founded on law, but was often usurped by the authority of arms; and the chief men of the nation of the conqueror, although entirely ignorant of literature, particularly of the Latin language (the official language of the Government), hesitated not on that account to occupy the highest situations in the State, where a knowledge of letters was so necessary.

These and other similar considerations have led the most learned diplomatists to regard the bad Latin of these documents as a mark of authenticity, and but few of the acts of public authority are exempt from such faults.

The texts of contemporary authors lead us to a similar result. Gregory of Tours, both in his style and Latinity, is far below the good writers of classical times; and the solecisms of these diplomas are, therefore, to be regarded, not as the evidence of forgeries, but as original errors.

The two kinds of writing in these documents are distinguished by several characters. In the upper specimen we recognise a wide cursive minuscule, with the words not divided; the tails and top-strokes of moderate length, and much more conjoined in the last than in the first line of the specimen. In the lower specimen the writing is cursive, close, moderate-sized, obscure, sloping from left to right; the words not divided, conjoined, and very difficult to read; the date is terminated by the word *feliciter*, a formula found in Roman acts, and which we might, therefore, expect to find in the public documents of a country where the Roman influence still existed, as it did in France in the seventh century, the date of the documents before us.

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PLATE CLXVII.

CURSIVE MEROVINGIAN WRITING.

VIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

DIPLOMA OF CHILDEBERT III.

THE present Plate represents the greater portion of the diploma now noticed, and will afford a complete idea of these kind of documents, which constitute the most rare and precious foundation of our national annals. This fac-simile, moreover, unites in itself specimens of several kinds of Franco-Gallic writing in use in France during the period of the first race, and will enable us to remark the principal divisions and formulæ, which are the essential characters of such documents.

If we examine the text, we recognise in it the diplomatic Merovingian cursive writing,—close, complicated, and obscure; with the words not divided, and almost undecypherable. According to the general practice then in use, the top-line is written in larger letters, more distinct majuscules, and more Roman-like. In this diploma may be perceived, at the commencement of the first line, a sign apparently destitute of expression, and which the learned Mabillon at first regarded only as a fanciful stroke of the pen, but which is now generally considered to be intended as a monogram composed of the letters ICN, which is interpreted *In Christi nomine;* an invocation at that period in general use in public documents. This is followed by the name and title of the sovereign by whom the diploma was granted, which, in order to fill up the entire line, has the syllables widely separated from each other, thus:—*Chil de ber thus rex franco*[*rum*] *v*[*ir*] *in lust*[*er*].

This title, *vir inluster*, so little significant at present, was

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carefully introduced in the diplomas of all the kings of the first race, up to the time of Pepin; and it is believed that this was done in imitation of Clovis, who adopted it in his protocols, after having received from the Emperor Anastasius letters of consulship, a dignity accompanied by the title of *inluster*, which was the first in rank among honorary titles, and was followed by those of *clarissimus* and *spectabilis*.

The text of this diploma will shock the ears of professed Latinists, but such it was at the period in question. The Latin language had then become rustic, and from the end of the sixth century until the time of Charlemagne, the decline and corruption of this language were constantly on the increase. Beneath the text (of which only seven lines are here represented, although there are fourteen in the original) may be observed a line written in very large tall characters, preceded by a mark very similar to that before the King's name at the top of the diploma, and which is here also intended for the same monogram. The remainder of this line is occupied by the autograph* signature of King Childebert, in three divisions, *Childeber cthus rex*, in elongated letters, after the Roman model; but here the letters are less boldly written, and closer together than in the Roman public acts.

After the word *rex* is an ornamental scrawl, in which the letter S is very often repeated, being intended for the word *subscripsi*, in reference to the text of the document, thus speaking in the name of the King, *manus nostris subscriptionibus subter eum decernimus roborare*. Probably in this scrawl may lurk some Tironian notes, and on this supposition the Benedictines, who have described this diploma, read the words *bene valeas* after the signature.

Beneath this is found the name of the Referendary†, *Wlfolaccus* (or *Vulfolaecus*) *jussus optulit*, the writing of

* This assertion seems very questionable. — Ed.

† Also preceded by a monogram.—Ed.

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which is not larger than that of the text, but is distinguished by its long and superfluous flourishes above and below. Probably also, in the confused mass of strokes at the end of the name, some Tironian notes may occur.

Rather lower, to the right, is the discolored spot where the seal was placed, which bore the imprint of the ring of Childebert III. To fix this seal, a star-shaped aperture was made in the parchment, the ends of which are still bent back on the dors of the document.

The date occurs in the bottom line. In the previous century (the sixth) the date preceded the signature. The writing of this date, an essential part of every public act, is not in taller letters than those of the text, but they are more confused, and the words rather more separated. It is to be read: *Datum quod ficit min*[*sis*] *abrilis dies ter*[*tia*], *an*[*no*] *tertio regni n*[*ostr*]*i, Conpendio, in d*[*e*]*i nomene felic*[*iter*], which gives as the date of this diploma, the 3rd of April, in the third year of the reign of Childebert III., A.D. 697.

The fac-simile exhibits the precise width of the parchment on which this document is written, but it is five inches longer. On the dors are various ancient memoranda, one of which is of the eighth century.

This diploma, which contains the donation of the forest of Cormeille to the monastery of Argenteuil, forms part of an acquisition recently made by the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

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PLATE CLXVIII.

DIPLOMATIC FRENCH WRITING.

VIIIth CENTURY.

CHARTER OF CHARLEMAGNE.

The reign of Charlemagne formed an epoch in the renovation of the French writing, which, unfortunately, continued only to the time of Hugues Capet, after which period it underwent a gradual degradation from century to century, by means of the so-called Gothic forms, until the second renovation of writing, literature, and criticism, in the sixteenth century. The Franco-Gallic writing of the Merovingians had been modified from the earliest times of the second race, and its numerous conjoined letters and monstrous complications laid aside; its proportions became more regular in all respects, so that the top-strokes and tail-strokes could be distinguished from the body of the letters, the latter from each other, and the words were written apart. By the counsels of Alcuin and Paul Warnefrid (*Diaconus*), a system of punctuation was also adopted in books, and subsequently introduced into diplomas; and latterly, a general reform in the Latinity completed the benefits conferred by this prince, the happy fruits whereof were manifested in the style of the documents of the royal authority, as well as in more extended compositions, and even in the transcription of the books of classic or Christian antiquity.

The charter, of which a fac-simile is here represented, is a proof of the correctness of the preceding remarks.

We have here, in fact, neither the Roman writing, nor the Merovingian writing of the charters of Childebert and Chil-

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peric. The letters in all these documents, taken separately, are mostly indeed to be referred to the same type; but in the charter of Charlemagne they have acquired forms more consonant with good taste. Their separation renders them more easy to be read and understood, conjoined letters being very rarely in the text. The words are also nearly always divided, and if the top-strokes are unusually elongated and pointed, they are too distinct to become embarrassing, whilst their form agreeably fills up the wide space between the lines.

The first line of this charter is entirely written in tall Caroline cursive letters, close together, elongated, and slightly curved, with the tops angularly bent to the left, and the bases to the right; sometimes conjoined, and having larger letters at the commencement of some of the words. The uncial N occurs but once.

After the cryptographic invocation, the name and title of the King occurs in these terms,—*Carolus gratia D[e]i Rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum, omnibus ep[iscop]is, abbatibus, ducibus, comitibus, vicariis,* etc. The letter *o* here is seldom of the full height of the other letters, and in the smaller writing of the other lines it often approaches very nearly the form of *b*.

From A.D. 768 to 774, Charlemagne assumed the ancient title of *vir inluster;* but this is not found in the charter before us, and it was seldom used by him after the latter date, when he was crowned King of the Lombards. He is so styled in the present document, with the addition of Patrician of the Romans, a title given to him by the Pope as early as 754. We also perceive no preliminary invocation, this being rare in the charters of Charlemagne as King. The present charter is addressed to all bishops, abbots, dukes, counts, vicars, and other functionaries, and it has for its object a confirmation of lands to the monastery of La Grasse.

A peculiarity is to be noticed in this instrument, namely,

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the use of the sign *&*, not only as an isolated conjunction, but frequently as a syllable in the middle of words, as in *petiit*, written *p&iit*, in the fifth line.

An analogous conformation of *ec* occurs in the word *undecumque* in the next line, commencing with the words *ad se pertinentia*. We may also remark the N of the uncial form in the body of the text, at the end of the sixth line, in the words *iN aelimosina**. The Latinity of this charter is not brilliant, but, on the other hand, is not strikingly barbarous; and the date accounts for this, having been executed in the year 778, when the official language of the government had resumed some grammatical precision.

Here, as in many other charters represented in the present work, we have been able only to give a fac-simile of a portion of the instrument; since the dimensions of the Plates (notwithstanding their large size) would not allow more to be introduced; we have, moreover, kept in view the object of the work, which is, to exhibit a series of specimens of writing of all ages, and not a collection of historical documents. Space has, however, been found for the introduction of the monogram of Charlemagne, as forming an essential feature of the document, since he was the first sovereign who introduced the use of monograms, which long afterwards continued in France, and did not cease till the reign of Philip III. The ground-work of this monogram is a cross, the cross used by the Merovingians, to which are attached the letters of the King's name, commencing at the left side; K, R, L, S, are brought out the most distinctly, and A, V, and O, are to be found in the centre of the cross.

This fine charter is derived from the archives of the Departement de l'Aude.

* As also in *monachi*, in the same line.—Ed.

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PLATE CLXIX*.

MEROVINGIAN DIPLOMATIC WRITING.

VIIITH CENTURY.

DIPLOMAS OF CHILPERIC II. AND PEPIN.

THE three specimens brought together in this Plate exhibit the writing which was in use for the public documents of the kings of France, towards the end of the first race and the early years of the second, in the eighth century.

The cursive Roman writing had become so degenerated from its regular and original forms, even in the instruments issued by the functionaries of the empire, that the ignorance of the Franks could not more greatly debase it. As a necessary result, authority, whilst changing hands, did not alter the visible forms by which its acts were manifested; the Roman scribes, doubtless, passed into the service of the Franks, and these, who had neither theoretical nor practical rules of public administration, adopted what they found already established, and which had so long served their predecessors: the petty kings of the first race took possession of the prætorial seat of the last Roman prefects.

We shall, therefore, find in the written monuments of the French annals, and in the successive series of diplomas of the first race, only chronological proofs of the degradation of the ancient Roman writing.

The specimens here given succeed to those already described of the sixth and seventh centuries.

The first of these (No. 1.) is a diploma of Chilperic II.,

* In point of chronology, this Plate ought to have preceded the last. —ED.

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who reigned from A.D. 716 to 720. The top line is written in tall elongated letters; another instance in opposition to the opinion of those, who assert that in the charters of the kings of the first race the first line was never written in letters larger than those of the body of the document. Here we see these letters at least three or four times as tall as the text.

These tall letters do not fill the whole of the line—a practice not uncommon in documents of this age. They contain only the name of the King and his style, *Chil peri chus Rex Franc[orum], v[ir] inlust[er]*,—the latter words being abbreviated.

Another character of the protocols of the period may be remarked in the words not being close together, and the syllables of the same word separated; a full third part of the line remains blank, so that the title of the King may be separated from the text. The monogrammatic invocation of the name of Christ will also be observed before the King's name*.

The second line nearly touches the first; but in diplomas more finely written, the lines are wider apart. The writing of this and the succeeding lines is smaller, close, obscure, and nearly undecipherable; and some of its top-strokes reach even through the preceding line. The words are not divided, and the letters very much conjoined, and full of superfluous strokes, which deform their appearance. It is to be read, *Cum in nostra vel procerum nostror[um] presencia, Compendio, in palacio nostro, homo alicus nomin[e] Friulfus, venerabeli viro Martino*, etc. The date of this diploma of Chilperic II. is in the second year of his reign, 7th March, A.D. 716.

Below this (No. 2.) is figured a diploma, which, in comparison with the preceding, might pass for a fine production of

* At a subsequent period, this abbreviated form became a mere unmeaning flourish, as will be seen in the charters of later princes, in Plates CLXIX. CLXXIII. In the diplomas of Louis le Débonnaire, Plate CLXXII., it does not appear.—Ed.

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the pen. The writing is certainly much clearer and less complicated, as though the degradation of the Roman writing in its shapeless Merovingian state had received some check. This is a charter of Pepin, at the time when he was only *Major domûs*, which explains the reason why the first line is in the same sized letter as the body of the document. The name and style of Pepin are written (in the third and fourth lines) without any distinctive marks,—*Igitur inlust*[*er*] *vir Pippinus major dom*[*us*], *omnibus ep*[*iscop*]*is, abbatibus, ducibus, comitibus, domesticis, grafionibus, vegariis, centenariis, vel omnes missos nostros*, etc. The first line commences thus,—*Summa cura et maxima sollicitudo debet esse principum, etc.* This writing, with the tails and top-strokes elongated, and the latter sometimes clavate, is a kind of cursive minuscule; the conjoined letters being rare, particularly in the first line; the words are, moreover, semi-distinct, and the characters comparatively elegant and bold. In this writing may be recognized the origin of certain forms which are found in the writings of Italy of the same period; and such would naturally be the case, since Rome and her bishops were at that time the centre of European policy, and the Frankish sovereignty kept up a constant communication with the chiefs of the Romish Church. This charter of Pepin is dated A.D. 751.

No. 3. is a specimen of a charter of Pepin when King; and here we find the first line written in tall, elongated letters, some of which are introduced within the others. After the ordinary invocation, we read, *Pippinus Rex Francorum, vir inlust*[*er*]; the remainder of the line being occupied by the commencement of the text, which is in Merovingian characters, much more deformed than in the preceding specimen; the top-strokes extending into the preceding line. This charter is dated A.D. 758.

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PLATE CLXX.

VISIGOTHIC WRITING OF FRANCE.

VIIIth CENTURY.

SACRAMENTARIUM OF THE ABBEY OF GELLONE.

The origin of the ancient Abbey of Gellone, in the diocese of Lodève, in Languedoc, was contemporary with the reign of Charlemagne. It was founded by one of the illustrious warriors who were companions and relations of the great Charles. His name was Guillelm, and he received from the imperial liberality the Comté of Toulouse, with the title of Duke, and not that of Aquitaine, which was not raised to a duchy until the year 817. The piety of Duke Guillelm soon manifested itself in the erection of a monastery in the valley of Gellone. The charter of its foundation is preserved, and it is dated in 804. Soon afterwards its founder assumed the monastic habit, and retired to the house which he had founded, where he died, on the 28th of May, A.D. 812, according to some writers, but in 813 according to others. He left a reputation of sanctity, was canonised, and his fête is celebrated by the Church on the anniversary of his death. The reputation, indeed, of this warrior-monk became more famous than that of the place where his piety was exhibited, and the monastery of Gellone is known under the name of Saint-Guillelm du Désert, in commemoration of the name of its founder.

This monastery was rich from its commencement, and the powerful protection of its illustrious founder gave a great eclat to its early years. Divine service would there be celebrated with great pomp, and splendid liturgical books must, doubtless, have formed part of the rich effects of the church of the monastery.

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In the absence of written evidence, the manuscript which has furnished the present fac-simile offers a proof of this statement. It is executed with a profusion of ornaments, and is very carefully written; and it is certain that the volume belonged to this monastery*, since a note occurs at the end of the second part (in the same hand as the first part) which leaves no reason to doubt the fact. The manuscript itself abounds in palæographic singularities, to describe which in detail would require a distinct treatise. It consists of 552 pages, and contains a Sacramentarium and a Martyrology. The text of the Prayers is written in black ink, the titles, directions for the officiating priest, and other liturgical rules, are in red, throughout the book. It is executed on thick vellum, not very well prepared, and each page contains from 25 to 30, and even sometimes 33 lines, ruled with a hard point. The ornamental initial letters are of all kinds and colors, exhibiting the most bizarre combinations of men and animals, flowers and fruits, lines and points, and they abound on each page in various sizes. We find Greek written in Latin letters, and Latin written in Greek. Later additions fill up portions of the leaves left blank by the first scribe. Lastly, as an evidence of the great importance of this manuscript, the Benedictines have given specimens of no less than five different kinds of writing from it, all belonging to one and the same subdivision of Visigothic writing, namely, that of France, but which is of very rare occurrence in the manuscripts still remaining. This subdivision consists of a small massive Visigothic character, mixed with uncial and cursive letters, which approaches several other kinds of writing. To these generic characters of this species are to be added the peculiar characteristics of each, of which one only is represented in the Plate.

The four *alineæ* of which it consists are a continuation of

* *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. iii., p. 325.

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the same text, taken from the 42nd leaf, in which may be perceived a Visigothic minuscule hand, slightly conjoined, with the top-strokes and tails elongated, thickened, and truncated, mingled with some Merovingian letters; the words nearly separate, and abounding in abbreviations; the letter *s* taking the form of *r*; *f* is prolonged below the line, and many of the letters usually conjoined.

The initials especially merit attention, being the symbolical representations of the Evangelists. The first is F, under the form of a holy bishop, being the symbol of St. Matthew; the second is M, in which the lion of St. Mark is introduced; the third is L, ornamented with the head of the ox of St. Luke; and the last, I, formed by the figure of a man, with the head and wings of an eagle, announcing the Gospel of St. John. This adaptation of the head of an eagle to a human body (like that of the head of an ox in the same position) is a singularity only found in the oldest manuscripts, and but few instances exist of this grotesque Christian symbolism.

The first line is to be read,—*Filii kmi* [*karissimi*], *ne dehutius ergo vos teniamus* (for *diutius* and *teneamus*); and these few words are sufficient to shew the Latinity of this Sacramentarium. The four sections contain explanations of the four symbolical figures, quite as mystical as the figures themselves. We have here, therefore, a specimen both of the art and science of the south of France, at least at the Abbey of Gellone, in the eighth century.

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PLATE CLXXI.

CAROLINE AND SAXON WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

BIBLE OF SAINT DENIS, IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE AT PARIS.

THE present fac-simile will afford an idea (although a very inadequate one) of the magnificence of the volume from which it was copied, and which, in fact, is one of the most perfect productions of the arts of the middle ages, as renovated by the genius of Charlemagne. It has long been known as the *Bible of Saint Denis*, or the *great* or *second Bible of Charles le Chauve;* and it is certain that it was executed for that prince, as is clearly proved by some verses at the end of the volume:—

BIBLORUM SERIE[M] KAROLUS REX INCLITUS ISTA[M]
CONTEXIT CHRYSO, CORDE COLENS CATHARO.
O MIRANDA NIMIS D[OMI]NI SAPIENTIA SUMMI,
QUAE PRAESENS ADERAS, DU[M] CAELOS IPSE PARABAT.

It is a volume of a large folio size, 16 inches high by 13 wide, containing at the present time 431 leaves. The vellum is beautiful, uniform, choice, and equally white on both sides. The text is written in double columns, very regularly arranged by means of horizontal and vertical lines ruled with a hard point, to indicate the margins, and the distance of the lines.

The commencement of each of the books of this Bible, as well as of the prefaces of St. Jerome, is written in characters of gold of different kinds; magnificent letters, similar to those exhibited in the fac-simile, occur at the beginning of each book; the *Explicits* are not less rich, and a great number of

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small capitals of very diversified forms, both in gold and colors, indicate the principal subdivisions, and even the verses. All the illuminated letters are beyond the usual margin of the text. A running title at the top of each page announces the books of the Bible, in the accustomed order of the books of the Old and New Testament. The Canonical Epistles and the Apocalypse are not to be found, this portion of the text having been destroyed by time, or taken away by a criminal hand.

So rare a literary monument as the present could not fail to attain celebrity in every age, so that its history may be traced with exactitude. Numerous and authentic evidences prove, that from the reign of Charles le Chauve, or, at least, after his death, which took place in 877, this Bible was deposited in the Abbey of St. Denis; and that in the reign of Charles V. it became, by the king's munificence, the property of this Abbey. About the end of the fifteenth century, the monks entertained the project of selling the volume; but by a decree of the parliament of Paris, on the 20th of August, 1595, the Bible of St. Denis was ordered to be transferred to the Bibliothèque du Roi, then recently enriched by the books from Fontainebleau deposited in the College of Clermont, from which the Jesuits had been expelled. A note written on the first leaf of the manuscript states some of these circumstances in the following terms:—

"Ce jourd'hui, 23 Octobre 1595, j'ai soubsigné, Eme de Véelu, religieux de l'Abbaïe Sct-Denis en France, et garde des chartres de lad. Abbaie, ai mis ceste présente Bible entre les mains de Monsieur le Président de Thou, garde de la Bibliothèque du Roi, suivant l'arrest de la Cour du 20 du dit mois*, lad. annee." (Signed) "Eme de Véelu."

J. A. de Thou, keeper of the royal library, caused several hundred manuscripts (chiefly Greek) to be magnificently bound, with the arms and cypher of Henry IV., the expense

* 20th August, according to another statement.

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of which was ordered by the king to be paid out of the rents which had belonged to the Jesuits, and which were appropriated to the Crown during their expulsion from France.

The Bible of Charles le Chauve was one of the precious manuscripts which were thus bound. It is covered with red morocco, with the shield of France and Navarre on the middle of the upper cover, the corners of which are ornamented with an H and a fleur-de-lis crowned; the same ornaments are on the lower cover, and in the centre is a shield inscribed with the words, H. IIII. PATRIS PATRIÆ VIRTUTUM RESTITUTORIS.

This manuscript has also obtained another kind of notoriety, since it occupies a place in the history of a criminal transaction, inspired by a blind and false religious zeal. In 1706, in the hope of converting a wretched apostate (M. Aymon), he was invited to Paris, where he gained the confidence of M. Clement, then the librarian, who, desirous of making a proselyte, obtained for him a degree of estimation by the esteem which he publicly manifested towards him, and by introducing him to the Comte de Pont-Chartrain and the Cardinal de Noailles. The wretch outrageously abused the confidence thus bestowed upon him: assiduous in his researches at the Bibliothèque du Roi, he there obtained facilities, which are rarely granted without disastrous consequences to such an establishment; and after remaining a year at Paris, being provided with a passport furnished by M. de Chamillard, the Minister of the Marine, he departed secretly to the Hague, in 1707, where he publicly declared, that he had only been to Paris with the design of collecting materials for the defence of the reformed religion, and exhibited as trophies various manuscripts which he had stolen from the Bibliothèque du Roi. It was only by public rumour that M. Clement was informed of this audacious theft, and he very soon discovered by the assistance of the catalogues, that many manuscripts of great value had disappeared, and among others, *The Council of*

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Jerusalem; The Epistles of Saint Paul; The Canonical Epistles and *Apocalypse*, in Latin, written upon vellum in capital letters; the *Gospels*, in Latin, in the same character; the *Gospels*, written in Saxon letters; the *Italian Correspondence of Visconti*, Nuncio at the Council of Trent; and the *Letters of Prospero Santa Croce*, Nuncio in France, from the year 1561; as also some Chinese volumes, containing the familiar Dialogues of Confucius, and a treatise on Arithmetic*. Scarcely had M. Clement ascertained how great was the value of the stolen volumes, than he accidentally found that many other manuscripts had been scandalously mutilated for the same purpose, by having a number of the leaves cut out, amongst which was the *Bible of Charles le Chauve*. The Epistle to the Romans and the Canonical Epistles had disappeared, fifteen leaves having been cut out with a penknife.

Active steps were taken, by order of the King, by the French ministers at the Hague, to recover the stolen volumes, but without much success. The thief, Aymon, found shelter beyond the French frontier; and it was only by a sort of miracle that two leaves (406 and 407) of the Bible of Charles le Chauve were recovered. This magnificent volume still exhibits, therefore, the marks of the mutilation which it has suffered.† In other respects its preservation is perfect, but the lower margin of the last leaf is a little injured by damp, which explains the loss (previous to its being bound by the orders of M. de Thou) of the leaves following, containing the Apocalypse.

The fac-simile in the Plate, notwithstanding the varieties of writing which it exhibits, does not embrace the whole of

* The greater part of these manuscripts were purchased by the Earl of Oxford, and are at present preserved in the Harleian collection in the British Museum.—Ed.

† The remaining thirteen leaves, numbered 408—420, are preserved in the Harleian MS. 7551, and comprehend the Canonical Epistles. See *Historical and Literary Curiosities*, by C. J. Smith, 4to. 1840.—Ed.

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those employed in the graphic execution of this volume, which are five in number. We shall here only describe those represented in the fac-simile.

The entire Plate contains only the following words:—INC[I]P[I]T REGU[M] LIBER PRIM[US.] FUIT VIR UNUS DE RAMATHAIM.

The first two lines are written in large and beautiful Caroline capitals, remarkable for their fine proportions and perfect execution, in gold. The F and V, in the third line, are among the finest known specimens of Saxon-French writing; the body of the letters is ornamented with interlaced and tesselated patterns, and the open spaces filled with *ornithomorphic* figures; the edges of the letters being surrounded with red dots. The fourth and sixth lines are similar to the two first, but the letters are rather smaller. The fifth line is written in fine Saxon-French capitals, in outline letters, on a red ground, colored in compartments, the D and E being terminated in triangular points.

We have here probably the most perfect examples of these different kinds of writing, from one of the finest manuscripts of the ninth century*; for there are few volumes the origin and date of which are so well authenticated, since tradition and acts of public authority have uniformly certified this to be the *Bible of Charles le Chauve*†.

Some doubts may, perhaps, arise as to the gift of this Bible to the Abbey of St. Denis by Charles V., founded solely

* See the Plates CCXXIV. CCXXV. for specimens taken from another manuscript executed precisely in the same style and at the same period, but erroneously placed among those of the Anglo-Saxon school of writing.—Ed.

† The *Arrêt* of the Parliament of Paris above cited; the Declaration of the monk of St. Denis, Eme de Véelu, in 1595; and the most ancient Catalogues of the Bibliothèque du Roi, in which this Bible has successively borne the numbers 138 and 3561. It is now marked No. 2, (*Ancien fonds Latin.*)

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on the three words written in an ancient hand at the bottom of the recto of the first leaf, *Carolus quintus donavit;* but this doubt is immaterial to our object here.

PLATE CLXXII.

MINUSCULE FRENCH WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

CHARTERS OF CHARLES LE CHAUVE, LOTHAIRE, AND ZUENTEBOLD OF BURGUNDY.

THE three specimens of different kinds of Carlovingian diplomatic writing in the accompanying Plate, make us acquainted with three charters of the middle or end of the ninth century.

The first (No. 1.) belongs to the reign of Charles le Chauve, who therein gives various possessions, situated in the environs of Narbonne, to one of his *fideles*, named Isembert.

The first line is written in tall, close, distinct, and very elongated letters, among which are some uncial majuscules, as, for example, N, in the first word of the text. The top-strokes are greatly protracted and curved, with the tips bent downwards, and some are even completely looped. The monogrammatic invocation at the head of the charter extends below the space of three lines. The text, in ordinary sized letters, is much tinged with Merovingian forms, and many of them are singular; for instance, *t* resembles the figure 8, open at the bottom; *g*, occasionally very carelessly written, has also the form of 8, flattened at the top; *o* approaches the latter; *e* is composed of two strokes, united in the middle of their height; the circular stroke of the *d* is double;

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and the *c* is formed of two rounded strokes, the first of which is elevated above the line.

In the last line, many of the letters are looped at the bottom, as *i*, in the word *signum*, as are the tops of the three *ss*, in the word *gloriosissimi*. The monogram, in form of a cross, is formed of Roman majuscules, according to the constant practice, and a scrawl follows the word *regis*. This line is terminated by the name of the notary or vice-chancellor, *Folchricus Diaconus*. The mark where the seal was placed, is still visible. This diploma of Charles le Chauve is dated in the day and year of his reign which correspond to the 20th of January, A.D. 859.

The second specimen is taken from a diploma of Lothaire, King of Lorraine, who reigned from 855 to 869. Both in the large and small letters, we recognise the diplomatic writing of the ninth century, the cursive Carlovingian, tall, and close together, with superfluous strokes; it is excessively elongated in the first line, in which the words are not divided, and where the long top-strokes terminate in acute points, turned towards the right. The same characters are found in the body of the text, the top-strokes extending into the preceding lines; *a* is open like *u*; *c* elevated above the line, by the addition of a loop; *o* nearly like *b*, with the top-stroke shortened; and *b* formed with a very long up-stroke; *g* partakes both of the Lombardic and Caroline forms; *r* is elongated, like *p*, below the line; lastly, some letters are conjoined, and there are frequent abbreviations.

The initiatory formula of this diploma of Lothaire is overcharged with words. After the abbreviated invocation, followed by the words,—*In nomine omnipotentis D[e]i et Salvatoris n[ost]ri Ihū Xp̄i*, we have the title of the King, *Hlotharius, divina praeveniente Clementia, Rex*. In the middle of the second line, the motives of the charter are expressed thus,—*Igitur comperiat omniu[m] fideliu[m]*

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scae [*sanctæ*] *D*[*e*]*i ecc*l[*esi*]*ae n*[*ost*]*roru*[*m*]*q*[*ue*] *p*[*rae*]-*sentiu*[*m*] *scilicet et futuroru*[*m*] *universitas.*—Beneath is the signature of the king, written by the notary or chancellor, *Signum* (monogram), *Hlotharii, gloriosi regis.* This is a charter of King Lothaire, in favor of the nunnery of Saint Peter at Lyons, executed in the eighth year of his reign, corresponding with the 18th of May, A.D. 863.

The third specimen, at the end of the ninth century, relates to the same province of Lorraine, which was one of those which, originating in the dissensions of the empire, descended from the rank of a kingdom to that of a province.

Among its kings is found Zuentibolch or Zuentibold, a natural son of Arnulfus, nephew of Charles le Gros. Called to the Crown in 895, Zuentibold was killed in a battle against Louis of Germany, in the year 900, after a reign of five years.

It is, of course, natural to find the diplomatic writing of France in this diploma of a King of Lorraine. We see, in fact, in the first line, the cursive Carlovingian writing, with the letters tall and close together, the words half divided, and ornamented with a forest of gigantic pointed top-strokes, curved towards the right.

After the usual monogrammatic flourish, we read,—*In nomine sc* [*sanctae*] *et individuae Trinitatis, Zuentebolchus, divina ordinante providentia rex.*—*Quanto propensius . . . . tanto dni claementiam regnum nobis caelitus commissum latius diffundere,* etc. The signature of the king below is to be read,—*Signum domni Zuentebolchi* (*monogram*) *gloriossimi regis,* the letters of which resemble those of the top line, but in the second and third lines the writing slopes like an Italic text*; with the *a* open, like *u; e* resembling entirely the Lombardic *e,* in bulls; and *p* elongated,

* It does not slope more than in either of the preceding charters.—Ed.

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even in the middle of words, both above and below the line. The word *aeternae*, in the third line, is very characteristic. This charter is dated in A.D. 897, in the third year of the King's reign.

PLATE CLXXIII*.

DIPLOMATIC FRENCH WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

DIPLOMAS OF LOUIS LE DÉBONNAIRE.

THE date of the three imperial diplomas, extracts from which are represented in the present Plate, is subsequent to that of the reign of Charlemagne, and the state of the writing in these precious historical documents enables us to perceive the real progress already made towards improvement in the public offices, after the great emperor had checked the progress of barbarism exhibited in the Merovingian writings. Pepin, indeed, had already observed the evil, and sought for the remedy, but it was reserved for his illustrious successor to find and apply it so successfully, that it lasted for several centuries. A comparison of the debased writing of the diploma of Childebert III. in A.D. 697, with the finely written charter of Charlemagne in 778, will at once prove the correctness of this observation.

These three diplomas are all of the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, and their graphic appearance sufficiently shews that this prince maintained, in his official instruments, the good example furnished in the latter years of the preceding reign,

* This Plate, in regard to date, ought to have preceded the last.—ED.

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and was anxious to second the views of his father, in renovating the writing, and bringing back the fine forms of the Roman period into use.

The fac-simile (No. 1,) is copied from a diploma formerly deposited in the archives of the cathedral of Sens. It is dated at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 17th of May, in the ninth year of the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, A.D. 822. The first line is in cursive Carlovingian writing, with which are mixed some N's of the uncial form, but slanting; unusually tall, elongated, and close together; the top-strokes very elevated, and somewhat recurved, with several abbreviations. The original diploma, written on parchment, is one-third wider than the fac-simile, and the first line extends across the entire width of the page; a custom introduced into the Carlovingian diplomas from the period of the reign to which the present document belongs. We there read,—*In nomine Dn̄i Dī et Salvatoris nr̄i Ih̄u Xp̄i Hludowicus, divina ordinante providentia, imperator Augustus. Si illius amore cujus munere ceteris mortalibus praelati sumus soli dō sub sca religione.* The writing of the body of the text is of the same kind, but much smaller, although equally close; the top-strokes are very elongated, generally reaching to the preceding line, without however entering or crossing it. The first words of the second line are,—*non potest, comparamus ut illi tantummodo sine impedimento quantum* praesentis mortalitatis sinit fragilitas,* etc.

The first line of the second specimen (No. 2) is in a writing similar to that of the preceding document, but less elongated and more open; it is upright, and even elegant of its kind; and the top-strokes are struck with great freedom, slightly curved and thickened.

* MM. Champollion read *quorum*, and omit *sine*, in this extract.—Ed.

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The first line occupies the entire breadth of the sheet of parchment, the formula being exactly similar to that in No. 1; there were, indeed, but few alterations introduced into the diplomas of Louis le Débonnaire, whilst he reigned alone. The word *propitiante* was occasionally used instead of *ordinante*, and after his re-establishment on the throne, in 834, he used the word *repropitiante*. The writing of the text of this diploma is, like the top line, more open than that of the former; it is not so tall, and more easy to be read; the top-strokes reach the preceding line, whereas the tails are not longer than their due proportions require. In the preceding specimen the words are almost continuous, but here they are quite separate; a stop and a large initial letter in the middle of the second line indicate the close of one phrase and the beginning of another. We here read,—*Proinde notum esse volumus cunctis fidelibus* $\overline{scae}$ *di ecclesiae &* $\overline{nris}$ [*nostris*] etc. The present document, therefore, evidently exhibits an improvement in writing, as compared with the former, although executed only eight years afterwards, namely, in A.D. 830.

We may, observe, however, still more elegance, regularity, and improvement in all respects in the third fac-simile, although only a few years more recent than No. 2. The initial formula is the same, but it here occupies rather wider space. There are, nevertheless, more letters conjoined together in the text than in the charter of A.D. 830, but these ligatures are easily to be distinguished and read; the top strokes are also more rounded, and extend into the preceding line. The third line contains the words,—*utilitas omnium fidelium n*[*ost*]*rorum tam praesentium quam et futurorum, quia concessimus ad proprium cuidam fideli vassallo n*[*ost*]*ro Adalberto.* In this diploma the date of the nineteenth year of the reign of Louis le Débonnaire is added to the indiction VI., instead of the indiction XI., which is that of the year 833, the date of the

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present document. It belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. The originals of Nos. 1 and 2 are preserved among the Archives of the kingdom.

PLATE CLXXIV.

DIPLOMATIC WRITING OF FRANCE.

X^TH CENTURY.

CHARTERS OF CHARLES LE SIMPLE AND RODOLPH, KINGS OF FRANCE.

THE two diplomatic instruments, of which portions are represented in this Plate, carry us towards the latter reigns of the second race of French kings, during the first half of the tenth century; and the marked distinction to be observed in the writing of these instruments is attributable both to temporary and local influences. The first is a charter executed near Paris, and the second near Lyons.

The first of these (No. 1) participates in the improvement introduced in the graphic execution of charters, in the reign of Pepin le Bref. We here find a simple and regular handwriting, destitute of all the Merovingian complicated forms, being a kind of Caroline minuscule of moderate pretensions, with the letters and lines at regular distances apart.

The first line is written in a large hand. The interlaced mark in the margin, occupying the length of two lines, is the ordinary cryptogrammate invocation, *In Christi nomine*, with the base floreated; and this first line, notwithstanding the size of the letters, is but an elongated cursive character, and not a majuscule. It is to be read,—*In nomine sce et individuae trinitatis, Karolus gratia dī Rex. Regalis celsitu-*

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dinis moris est fid[elium], etc.; and by comparing this writing with the lines in the body of the charter, it will be seen to differ from them only in the height of the letters. The smaller writing is, in fact, a clear cursive hand, with most of the words divided; the letters pointed, tall, and not too close, with some conjoined cursive letters; the top-strokes very elevated, and some of them formed by a single stroke, inclined towards the left; others curved into a point, and turned to the right; and others of moderate height, furnished with sharp superfluous strokes. The influence of the Lombardic writing of Italy is perceived in the letters *o, t, p.* The last line is in elongated letters, closer together than in the top line, and half as tall again. The word *signum*, preceded by a vertical line of six dots, is followed by the *monogram*, in the form of a cross, formed of the seven Roman majuscule letters of the word KAROLUS; the completion of the phrase is then added, in the words *Karoli gloriosissimi regis.* This Karolus is King Charles le Simple, who reigned from 893 to 929. It has, however, been supposed, that this diploma might belong to the time of Charles le Chauve. The invocation of the Holy Trinity, and the simple style, *gratia Dei, rex*, are known in other diplomas of the same prince. It was also the custom in his documents, to add imprecations against those who contravened them, in which they were anathematized, excommunicated, and condemned to the flames of hell.

The monogram is well formed, and if, as the Benedictines remark, it be the King's own writing, he must have been a master in the art of forming such letters. A slit in the charter, in the form of St. Andrew's cross, near the lower right-hand corner, indicates, that it formerly bore a wax seal, now destroyed. This is undoubtedly the case, although the text does not mention that it was sealed.

The second charter (No. 2), of which the commencing lines

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are represented, belongs to Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, who usurped the crown of France, in the time of Charles le Simple, and reigned from A.D. 923 to 936.

After the abbreviated invocation (in which is to be observed the letter X, the Greek initial of the word *Christi*), the king Rodolph invokes the Holy Trinity,—*In nomine scæ et individuæ Trinitatis, Rodulfus, divino propitiante clementia, pius Augustus atque invictissi*[*mus*]; a title sufficient for the greatest king upon earth. It is written in very tall, narrow, and compressed cursive letters, with tall top-strokes, much curved, and the points turned towards the right, some of them being looped; the letters *r*, *s*, *f*, extend below the line in acute superfluous strokes; and *d*, *p*, and *g* are broken in the middle, as well as *t* and *e*.

The body of this charter is written in a German hand; it is a cursive minuscule, approaching to the Caroline, slightly conjoined, with the words half divided. The top-strokes are elongated, and sometimes broken, with superfluous acute strokes, directed towards the right, but sometimes slightly curved towards the left; the tails moderately lengthened; the *r* extending below the line; the *s* broken; with the lines wide apart.

The signature of the king is entirely written by the hand of the notary*, in these words, *Signum Rodulfi, regis gloriosissimi*, followed by a monogram.

This charter is dated in the ninth year of the reign of King Rodolph, indiction XI. (or rather IV.), which corresponds with A.D. 931.

* As, without doubt, in all the previous instances, together with the monograms.—Ed.

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PLATE CLXXV.

FRENCH DIPLOMATIC WRITING.

END OF THE XTH CENTURY.

CHARTER OF HUGUES CAPET, HEAD OF THE THIRD RACE OF FRENCH KINGS.

THE Benedictines in their great work, intitled *l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, state, that on the death of Louis V.*, of the race of Charlemagne, (surnamed *le Fainéant*,) the crown of France descended by right to Charles, Duke of Basse-Lorraine, (uncle of Louis V., who died without children,) the brother of Lothaire, both being the sons of Louis IV. or *d'Outre-mer;* but that the French nobles regarded Charles as a deserter of the State, excluded him from the royal succession, and offered the crown to Hugues Capet. At this period of the history of France, the nobles possessed the national sovereignty, and in an assembly held at Noyon, they decreed the ejection of one king and the election of another; this great event affording another instance in the history of the world, in which legitimacy is set aside by the public will. Hugues Capet was elected, he was the son of Hugues le Grand, grandson of Robert I., elected king by the factious, (as they are termed by the Benedictines,) and great-nephew of King Eudes; —another very equivocal example of legitimacy.

Hugues, as head of the third race of French kings, united with his title as King of the French, those of Duke of France and Count of Paris; and, according to the ordinary custom, he added to the possessions of the Crown the territories forming the Duchy of France and Comté of Paris.

* In the year 987.—ED.

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This revolution, notwithstanding the armed or secret opposition of some of the nobles, was accomplished and established during the short reign of Hugues Capet, who died at the age of fifty years, having reigned from A.D. 987 to 996, nine years and four months. This event had great influence upon the public institutions of France. The electoral nobles were not neglectful of their powers, as constituting the feudal body of the State; and they saw in the king, whom they had voluntarily chosen, only the first chief among themselves. In a visit of inauguration, they waited until the king had first saluted them, and occasionally made war with him as equals; for, although king, he was but a duke in whatever related to the rights and territory of his duchy, and was unable to call in the aid of the Crown.

The election of Hugues Capet, therefore, became an extraordinary fact in the history of social movement in France. It occurred at the end of the tenth century, a period in which the learned Gerbert flourished, and powerful monasteries, especially of the Benedictine order, contained very learned men and numerous manuscripts, where religion consecrated, in some measure, the efforts of science. At the same time a manifest change took place in the state of writing; the fine Carlovingian characters had undergone a sensible degradation, and a new kind of minuscule was introduced, termed the *Capetian*, which at first appears in diplomas as a cursive hand of a new style, but still bearing some resemblance to the Caroline, exceedingly irregular, and with the words continuous, but which by degrees became a real minuscule, differing only from that of the manuscripts in being more flourished, with the top-strokes taller, generally looped, sloping, crooked or acute; the tails generally short; the letters *c*, *e*, *g*, *d*, preserving their Caroline forms; and the uncial N being introduced into the middle of words, (as in *coNsuetudiNibus*, in the fifth line); in other respects, this writing is large and massive, but regular;

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the words not divided*, and semi-punctuated, with some of the letters conjoined.

The top line is in elongated minuscule letters, tall, close together, and mingled with majuscules and other singularly formed letters, such as the *f*, *e*, *x*, which resemble the Roman rustic capitals; and *r*, of which the upper loop is sometimes unconnected with the vertical stroke, but above the line. This first line is to be read (after the usual abbreviated mark of invocation), *In nomine scæ et individuæ Trinitatis, Hugo gra dī Francorum Rex. Mos et consuetudo regum predecessorum nrorum*, etc. At the foot of the charter is the signature of the King and that of his son Robert, written by the hand of the notary or chancellor, in more elongated letters than those of the top line,—*Signum gloriosissimi Hugonis Regis* (*monogram*); and below,—*Signum Roberti incliti Regis* (*monogram.*) This second signature gives the date of the charter between the years 988 and 996.

PLATE CLXXVI.

MINUSCULE ROMAN WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

THE TREATISE ON RHETORIC, OF CICERO.

We need not here enter into any detail relative either to the work of Cicero on Rhetoric, or their illustrious author, who has in all ages received the attention and respect of those able to appreciate the works of genius and taste.

The manuscript from which the fac-simile before us is

* This is not accurate, as a glance at the charter will shew.—Ed.

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copied, belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale, in which it is entered with the other manuscripts of the monastery of St. Victor at Paris, (No. 441,) as appears by the *ex libris** and the shield of arms at the top of the Plate, which indicate the origin of the volume, and recall to mind one of the most ancient literary establishments in the capital of France. Documents exist, deserving of some confidence, which extend the date of the foundation of the library of St. Victor back to the period of the fifth crusade; and the bishop of the diocese on starting for the Holy Land in the year 1208, bequeathed to it all his manuscripts. At the end of the fifteenth century this library had become so extensive, as to render a separate building necessary for its reception; it owes, however, its chief lustre to Francis I., and its reputation continued to increase until the year 1652, when it was made public; this being the first example in Paris of such a liberality afforded towards letters and the learned.

The manuscript before us merits some attention from the style of writing adopted in its pages, which, although of a small quarto form, have as many as thirty-four or thirty-five lines of very small minuscule writing in each page, ruled with a hard point, as well as the lines which surround the text. It is a Roman minuscule, small, elegant, and close; with the words divided, and punctuated very regularly, without any tendency towards the angular forms of the Gothic.

The Benedictines, fathers of the science of palæography†, state, that in general, the age of minuscule writing in manuscripts is difficult to be determined between the ninth and twelfth centuries; they add, however, rules, which will solve the difficulty. Let us apply those rules to the manuscript before us.

* In a hand nearly four centuries later than the text of the manuscript.—Ed.

† *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, tom. iii., p. 271.

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1. Some uncial letters occasionally appear in the middle of words written in minuscules;—this is the ninth century.

2. The letters *ct* and *st* are conjoined; the tops of *l*, *h*, *d*, *k*, are not clavate; and *et* has the form of *&*, even in the middle of words;—this is the tenth century.

3. The top-strokes of all the letters which have them are tall, depressed at the top, and obliquely truncated; the *f* and *ſ* have their loops bent upwards towards the base; the vertical stroke of the *t* traverses the summit; the strokes of the *m* and *n* terminate at the bottom in slender lines turned inwards; the abbreviations are very numerous; *m* and *n* are replaced by a horizontal stroke; two acute accents above two *i i* distinguish them from *u*; and lastly, the majuscule letters of the titles are a complete mélange of capitals and uncials, and the form of the majority of them is quite fanciful. All these are the characteristics of the Roman minuscule writing of the eleventh century, which is the age of the present manuscript.

The two initial letters of the fac-simile deserve also to be noticed, both being *zoomorphic*, or formed of figures of animals. The upper one, S, is composed of two serpents, intertwined, and inserted into each other at the extremities. Their heads terminate in arabesques, which fill up the open spaces of the letter, which is drawn upon a rectangular ground of green and blue.

The second initial, E, is formed of a winged and horned dragon, coiled upon itself, and placed on a groundwork of red and green, accommodated to the direction of the animal. These two figures are in the pure Visigothic style. In the text of the manuscript, *ƀ* and *d* are indifferently used, and the *a* is always thus formed, and entirely closed,—all which leads us to believe, that this manuscript, so remarkable for the regularity of its execution, is the work of a scribe of the south of France, who, in the eleventh century, devoted his calligraphic

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talents to copy one of the most useful works of the celebrated Roman orator.

The two specimens of writing commence with the words:—

SEPE & MULTU[M] HOC mec*um* cogitavi, boni ne an mali, *etc.*

ET SI IN NEGOTIIS familiarib*us* impediti, vix satis ocium studio suppeditare possumus, *etc.*

PLATES CLXXVII, CLXXVIII.

CAPETIAN WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

LATIN BIBLE OF CARDINAL MAZARIN.

THE manuscript from which the subjects of these Plates are copied, may be considered as one of the most remarkable productions of the graphic art in the eleventh century, not only from the careful execution of the text, but also from its great size and extent. It contains the entire Bible, occupying 732 pages in double columns, with fifty-nine lines in each; each page being not less than 18 inches high and 13 wide. The vellum is of the finest quality, although not quite so white on one side as the other. Each gathering is composed of four leaves, so arranged as to bring together the white pages and the yellowish ones; so that on opening the volume, the same shade of color is preserved.

A great number of gigantic letters containing figures, and ornamented with colored patterns or embroidered, serve as initials to the principal divisions of the Bible, and an endless number of black or red majuscules of various sizes, more or less ornamented, are placed at the commencement of the chapters or paragraphs. The tables of each book are written

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in a smaller minuscule than the text, and the ancient binding is of wood, covered with leather.

This fine Bible passed from the library of Cardinal Mazarin to that of the King, in which it bears the No. 7 (*fonds Latin*). On his death, in 1661, this celebrated Cardinal-minister founded by will the College Mazarin, or *des Quatre Nations*, bequeathing to it his library, in which were contained 2156 volumes of manuscripts. In 1668 the King ordered an inventory to be made of the duplicates of the Bibliothèque Royale, and of those in the library of the College des Quatre Nations, as well as of its manuscripts; and an exchange was made between the two libraries by an Order of Council, dated 25th June, in that year; since which time this fine Latin Bible has belonged to the Bibliothèque Royale.

The fac-simile in the first Plate is copied from the *recto* of the 30th leaf, and exhibits specimens of four different kinds of writing.

At the first glance may be recognized in the top line the large Roman majuscule letters. From the period of the reign of Charlemagne, fine Roman capitals were had in honor, and carefully cultivated during the succeeding reigns; and this character, so renovated and employed in manuscripts, sometimes recalls to mind, by its fine forms, the most perfect inscriptions of the age of Augustus. The capitals in this first line are well proportioned, elegant, continuous, uniformly truncated, and widened at the base; introduced one within another, conjoined, or placed one above the other, terminating in volutes or arabesques; the first two being capriciously formed, with a T of the uncial form at the end of the first word. This line is to be read, INCIPIT LIBER VAGECRA.

The second line is in equally elegant but smaller uncial capitals,wide, spaced, with rectangular cross-strokes, and flourished; with the letters arranged and conjoined, in a similar manner as the preceding line, of which it forms the continua-

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tion, and is to be read, ID EST LEVITICUS; the last word being the Latin synonym of the Hebrew word *Vaecra*, or oftener *Vaicra*, (according to the Vulgate.)

The initial letter V of the text of this book attracts attention by its colossal size; it is colored in compartments, with interlacings at the bottom, as well as at the top of each stroke, bounded by a white edging, and placed upon a colored ground. Its open space is filled by a standing figure, whose head is surrounded by a cruciferous nimbus. On the outside of the letter stands another person with a long beard, holding a staff like an antique sceptre, and advancing out of a house towards the figure who calls him. This scene is described in the opening words of the book,—VOCAVIT *autem dns* [*dominus*] *Moysen, et locutus est ei.* The figures, therefore, represent the Deity giving commands to Moses respecting sacrifices and offerings. The remaining letters of this first word are also in elegant well proportioned uncials, with the C and V swollen in the middle.

The rest of the text is written in a massive, upright Capetian minuscule; the top-strokes rather dilated, and obliquely truncated, the tails diagonally; the *y* surmounted by a dot; the words divided, with few abbreviations, and punctuated; a Roman majuscule indicating the division into verses. This specimen contains four of these verses, commencing with the words, *Vocavit, Loquere, Si,* and *Ponet;* a division which exactly agrees with the verses of the same chapter in the printed editions of the Vulgate. From all these graphic characters, the date of this fine Bible cannot be attributed to an earlier period than the eleventh century.

[The second Plate is not described by MM. Champollion. It contains a specimen from the same Bible, of large and very elegantly formed Roman capitals, (mingled with a few uncials), executed by the pen, without the aid of color, upon a black ground dotted with red; resembling

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in character those given in the first line in the preceding Plate, but considerably more involved and conjoined together. They form the headings of the Epistle of St. Jerome and of the Book of Samuel, or first Book of Kings, and are to be read,—INCIPIT EP[ISTO]LA SCI IERONIMI, and,—INCIPIT SAMUHEL LIB[ER] I. REGUM. Above these inscriptions is added the reading of each, in small red minuscules. In the lower part of the Plate are represented four other very large ornamental colored initials, A, E, O, and T.—ED.]

PLATE CLXXIX.

DIPLOMATIC FRENCH WRITING.

XITH, XIITH, AND XIIITH CENTURIES.

CHARTERS OF PHILIP I., LOUIS LE JEUNE, PHILIP AUGUSTUS, AND ST. LOUIS.

FIVE specimens of diplomatic French writing are here assembled together, taken from five original charters of four monarchs who reigned at different periods during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; which will complete the series of fac-similes of the writings used in the public documents of the French kings of the first and second races, and during the early period of the third race.

The specimen No. 1. is taken from a charter of Philip I., confirming to the monastery of Cluny the donation which had been made to that house by Symon, Count of Chalons, when he assumed the monastic habit there. In this charter the writing is entirely renovated Roman; for after the reign of Hugues Capet, the Merovingian letters were gradually abandoned, and replaced by the Roman minuscule. The first

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line is a mixture of small rustic and uncial capitals, and the remainder of the text is a minuscule mingled also with uncials, similar to that of manuscripts, but large and very distinct, both in its letters and words, and distinguished by the former having very elongated top-strokes, and curved, deflexed, hooked, truncated, and broken, in various modes. The last two lines are worthy of attention, and contain these words,— *Hoc est + sinnum Regis Philippi regnantis, sua manu scriptum.* The cross may, in fact, be considered as the autograph signature of the King himself, and had the same authority as the royal seal; the remainder being written by the notary or chancellor. This charter bears date 1076, in the 18th year of the reign, and the King alone has subscribed it.

The specimen No. 2 is copied from an original charter of Louis VII., surnamed *le Jeune.* After a Latin cross formed of thin strokes, dilated at each end, with four small circles in the spaces between, comes the invocation, and then the words, *Ego Ludovicus $\overline{di}$ $\overline{gra}$ Rex Francor*[*um*] *et Dux Aquitanor*[*um*]; this prince having adopted the initiatory formula of his father, Louis le Gros. He also employs the word *Ego* in his style. In the present charter he uses the title of *Dux Aquitanorum,* which proves that it is anterior to A.D. 1152, at which time he ceased to use this title, after having set aside his marriage with Eleanor of Guienne. It was this King who, in 1171, substituted for the title of *Rex Francorum* that of *Rex Franciæ.*

We observe in this diploma a Roman minuscule hand, not without a tendency to the Gothic type; it exhibits, in fact, the origin of the Gothic in this reign. The top of the *e* is not always rounded, but sometimes pointed; the strokes of the *m* and *n* are broken at the summit, which inclines towards the left, and their bases terminate in a thin curve directed upwards. The letters are united to one another towards the left. The *e* in *ego* is only an elongated minuscule, and the

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N, near the end of the same line, approaches the uncial form.

The specimen No. 3 is in the same kind of writing, but much more inclined from left to right. With the exception of a few letters, the first line is only a taller and elongated minuscule, but the *n* and *s* in the word *sancte* are peculiar in their forms. The Gothic type is more visible in this than in the preceding document. The present is a grant from Philip-Augustus, and it was in his reign that this *mélange* of writing was established. The King here still uses the title of *Francorum Rex*. This diploma is dated in 1180, and contains an act of protection in favor of the monastery of Cluny, against the exactions of William, count of Châlons.

With the specimen No. 4 we commence the cursive Gothic style, in the middle of the thirteenth century. This fac-simile is a small cursive, approaching the minuscule, mingled with large initial letters, charged with angles and superfluous strokes in every direction, with recurved or flattened top-strokes, terminating in forks or hooks, and with tails extending to the left. The letter N, in the word *Noverint*, in the first line, and the initials *PH*, in the first and second lines, are triply barred, and similar instances abound throughout; a single *i* is accentuated in the second word of the second line, *Bolonie*. This charter is a *vidimus* given by Louis VIII., in 1225, of a charter of privileges conceded by the Count of Boulogne and Chaumont.

The specimen No. 5 completes the series, exhibiting the successive degradation* from the fine Roman minuscule, as renovated under Charlemagne. In the reign of Philip-Augus-

* To any one, who, without being prejudiced by a system, will compare the writing in the present Plate with the preceding specimens of the time of Charlemagne and his successors, in Plates CLXIX., CLXXII., and following, the *degradation* of the forms, so much complained of by MM. Champollion, will appear (as far as *charters* or diplomas are concerned) to be not borne out by facts.—Ed.

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tus the Gothic forms became dominant, and in that of St. Louis commenced the style named Ludovician, which resembles more closely the Gothic than any other kind. A proof of this is given in the present fac-simile. It is a fair Gothic minuscule; and fortunate would it have been, had not still more striking deformities brought this degradation into a *perfection*, which existed until the sixteenth century. This charter is one of St. Louis, and is dated in 1269.

Our series of specimens of diplomatic writing terminates here, since originals of a later period are to be easily found in the public archives.

PLATE CLXXX.

CAPETIAN WRITING OF THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

XIIITH CENTURY.

THE POEMS OF HORACE.

THERE are but few writers, either ancient or modern, who have enjoyed a reputation equal to that of Horace, or who have, like this illustrious Latin poet, so vividly interested their readers by a language, the purity, elegance, and reserve of which combine to form a model of urbanity; and by the profound, just, and graceful ideas, which clothe the inspirations of a graceful and practical philosophy. The writings of Horace inspire us with the love of life and men, whilst the precepts of morality are brought home to our hearts by the beauty of his verses.

Horace was the son of a freed door-keeper at the public sales, and was born at Venosa, in Apulia, in A.D. 65. He studied at Rome, exercised the functions of a tribune in the army of Brutus, and was recommended by Virgil to Varus

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and Mecænas, under whose patronage he published his poems, and died at the age of 57 years.

His contemporaries very rarely speak of him or his works, and still more rarely with eulogium. Ovid mentions him; and Lucan and Persius, in the first century of the Christian era, and Martial and Quintilian, in the second, accord to him some words of praise, which also were not denied him by Christian writers. Sidonius Apollinarius informs us*, that the prefect Tonantius Ferreolus possessed (in the fifth century) a manuscript of Horace, among those which he had collected in his house on the river Gardon, near Nismes. An Abbot of Altona consecrated a copy of the works of this Latin poet to St. Stephen, and a similar offering was made to St. Benedict, patron of the Abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire, by Herbert, Abbot of Lagny, who died in A.D. 992†.

The manuscript before us‡ does not possess so great an antiquity as these, since it belongs to the twelfth century, but in various palæographic respects it is worthy of attention.

The volume is of a narrow quarto form, as shewn in the fac-simile, and is written upon vellum, of moderate quality. The pages are ruled with a hard point; the outer margins are wide, and contain a number of *scholia;* there are also a number of interlineary glosses. The titles of the poems are in vermilion, and the initials are large uncial capitals, except where they are formed of figures, and colored. The first letter of each verse is also a small capital, mingled with cursive, and drawn with vermilion. The three portions of the fac-simile are taken from two different pages of the manuscript. The first is from the first book of the *Epodes;* the second and third, from the second book of the *Epistles*. The space in the middle of the fac-simile should be inscribed with the words *ad Dianam.*

* *Epistolarum*, lib. ii. cap. 9, edit. Sirmondi, 4to. Par. 1652.—Ed.

† See Plate CXXXII.—Ed.

‡ It is in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, No. 8214.—Ed.

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The armed figure at the top of the page is simply the letter I. The Benedictines have published some *anthropomorphic* forms of this letter, but their Greek monks, clad in their frocks, or a priest embracing a column, will bear no comparison, for originality and fine appearance, with our Visigoth, clad in his coat of mail, a helmet on the head, a spear and long shield in his hands, and his large sword by his side.

The initial of the next portion is of the *ornithomorphic* kind, composed of a bird; it was probably the intention of the artist to delineate the phœnix*, whose opened wings, and long neck bent down to its feet, form an uncial capital. The initial of the third portion is simply a capital C, formed of double lines, terminating in volutes.

The writing of the text of Horace is the Capetian minuscule, which succeeded to the Caroline in the tenth century. The letters are rather angular, and united together; the words divided; the tails, and the strokes of the *m* and *n* slope sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left. The top-strokes are short and terminate in a point, or are obliquely truncated, whilst some are clavate. There are but few abbreviations; *e* with a cedilla is used for *æ*; and some of the letters approach the Gothic. We recognize in these characters the Capetian of the twelfth century, and more especially the Capetian minuscule of the south of France, as is indicated generally by the letters *a*, *t*, *d*, and *r*. The ornaments of the manuscript also support this opinion.

The letter M of *Mecœnas*, which is the first in the manuscript, is represented by the front view of a church, with two doors, surmounted by a small bell-tower, similar to what is seen on so many coins of the middle ages; but the arches are rounded, and the crosses square, and all the architectural details are treated in the same style. As to the figures gro-

* It is evidently intended for a bird of prey devouring a fish.—Ed.

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tesquely introduced in the large letters, their costume is not in the least degree Gothic; the ornaments resemble the Greek form, and the impassioned expression of the physiognomies, as well as the exaggerated position of the figures, indicate the results of a southern art, in which are preserved some traces of Visigothic influence. In the southern provinces of France the Roman civilization was never entirely lost.

PLATE CLXXXI.

CAPETIAN MINUSCULE WRITING.

XIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

FRENCH TRANSLATION OF THE FOUR BOOKS OF KINGS.

From the reign of Hugues Capet the Caroline writing was by degrees renovated, and it acquired the use of elongated curved strokes and flourishes. Its beauty was preserved during the tenth and eleventh, and more than the first moiety of the twelfth, centuries, but at the close of the latter period it became confused, with the letters close together, and angular. Subsequent also to the same period, the scribes adopted the Gothic style; and from the middle of the thirteenth century, especially from the reign of St. Louis, this kind of writing degenerated by degrees, and ceased not to do so until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, the writing termed Gothic, although originating from the Latin, became so much deformed as to leave no trace of its real origin. There was no form so strange, which it did not affect, nor any ornament so extravagant, which it did not copy; close, complicated, filled with angles, loops, points, and hooks, so that those who

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practised it seem to have studied only to render it illegible. This is a summary of the history of this metamorphosis of the fine Caroline into the Gothic writing, as traced by the learned Benedictines*.

The fac-simile before us, copied from a very ancient French translation of the four Books of Kings, is a valuable example, as well as a beautiful specimen, of one of the modifications from the Roman writing, upright and round, to the Gothic full of angles and twistings.

In the text of this manuscript some appearance is still preserved of the ancient Latin writing, but it is lost in the mass of Gothic forms, which are close, tall, and angular, with the tails and top-strokes slightly elongated, the bases and summits truncated, the words divided, and already exhibiting the principal characters of Gothic penmanship. The *i* is still marked with an accent, but *h* is quite deformed; the vowel *u* is surmounted by the same accent, in order to distinguish it from *v*, which has the same form. The small capitals at the beginning of the phrases, especially the E, are written in fine Gothic forms; and, lastly, the writing is placed between double lines, ruled with a plummet,—all of which characters enable us to fix the end of the twelfth century as the date of the manuscript.

The title, LI QUARZ LIVRES, in red, contains a mixture of small capitals, uncials, and minuscules; the *e* especially shews the tendency towards the Gothic. The rubrics in the margins do not differ in their character from the text.

A note at the foot of the page, in a cursive Gothic hand of the fourteenth century, presents these words, *Madame suer Blanche, fille de Roy de France*, with the signature *Blanche*, and alludes to the fourth daughter of Philip le Long and Jeanne, daughter of the Count of Burgundy. Blanche was

* *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.* tom. ii. p. 663, *n.* tom. iii. p. 393.

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a nun at Long-Champ, near Paris, where she died*, which explains the title *suer* (sister), assumed in this manuscript, which certainly must have belonged to her. Some writers, in fact, mention having seen it in this nunnery†.

It remains only to speak of the French text represented in the Plate, but it will be sufficient at present to give the reading of a portion of it, with a modern literal interpretation, which will spare the reader the trouble of seeking after those words which are now obsolete.

	Cés de Moáb mesprístrent	*Ceux de Moab prévariquèrent*
	véꝛs cés de israél ápres la	*envers ceux D'Israël, après la*
¶ *Cume li reis Ocozias chaid é mahiennad.*	mort lú reí acab. E lí reis	*mort du roi Acab. Et le roi*
	Ocózias chaíd as alúres á-	*Ocozias tomba des ouvertures*
	munt de úne súe maí-	*d'en haut d'une sienne mai-*
	sun quil oút en samá-	*son, qu'il avait en Sama-*
	rie. Si en fúd maláde é	*rie. Il en fut malade et*
	mahaígnnez. Pur có cu-	*fort meurtri. Pourquoi‡ il com-*
	mandat as súens que il	*manda aux siens, qu'ils*
	enalassent á belsebúb le	*s'en allassent vers Belsébub, le*
¶ *Cum li reis enueiad messages p[ur] enquerre de deable, se il poust guarir.*	deable de ácharón, pur en-	*diable§ d'Accaron, pour s'en-*
	querre se il poúst gua-	*quérir, s'il peut gué-*
	rir de sa enfermeted. Mais	*rir de son infirmité. Mais*
	li angeles nre [*nostre*] Seignur ví[*n*]t	*l'ange de notre Seigneur vint,*
	é parlad á hélyé de thesbí-	*et parla à Hélye de Thesbé,*
	te sí lí díst. Vá encuntre les	*et lui dit: Va à la rencontre des*
	messages le rei de samá-	*messages du roi de Sama-*
	rie si lúr dí. Dunc nest li	*rie, et leur dis, Donc n'est pas le*
	veirs deu en israel, é p[*ur*] quei	*vrai dieu en Israël, et pourquoi*
	dunc alez prendre cunseil	*donc allez-vous prendre conseil*
	del deable de acharón ?	*du diable d'Accaron ?*

* In 1358.—Ed.

† It belongs now to the Bibliothèque Mazarin, at Paris, T. 70, and the entire text has been published by M. Le Roux de Lincy, 4to. 1841, who gives in his Introduction a description and fac-simile of the manuscript.—Ed.

‡ MM. Champollion have misunderstood this and other passages of the text. *Pur co* is not *pourquoi*, but *pour ce*.—Ed.

§ The Latin Vulgate reads *Deum*.

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E pur có que faít lauéz?	*Et pourquoi l'avez-vous fait*?*
Có dit nostre sires, Li réis	*Comme dit notre Seigneur, Le roi*
del lit ú il gíst ne leuerád	*du lit où il gît, ne se lévera pas,*
mais tut í murrad. Helyas	*mais bientôt y mourra. Hélye*
le fist tút íssi.	*le fit, sortit de suite†.*

PLATE CLXXXII.

CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE ROMAN WRITING.

XIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

MORTUARY ROLL OF ST. VITALIS.

THE two specimens of Latin writing united in this Plate are copied from a roll which must attract attention on several accounts.

This roll, the breadth of which is shewn in the Plate, is of a considerable length, being composed of a great number of sheets of parchment, sewn together at the ends, according to a custom generally practised in the middle ages. It is also *opistographic*, or written on both sides, and it is composed of a number of isolated entries, each having only a few lines, like the two exhibited in the Plate. Each of these short entries has a distinct origin, but all have a direct relation to the special subject of the roll. Written in different places and at different times, this collection of entries exhibits a very varied series of specimens of Latin writing, which bear the characters of the times and places where they

* Instead of this erroneous version and punctuation, should be substituted as follows, *Et pour ce que vous l'avez fait, ainsi dit*, etc. Instead of *co*, MM. Champollion read *com* falsely in both instances.—ED.

† Instead of *sortit de suite*, read *tout ainsi*.—ED.

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were written; and this variety renders the roll an excellent subject for palæographical study.

To explain the existence of such a document, it is necessary to state, that from the eighth or ninth century, the monasteries of France established among themselves societies of prayer and good works, and more especially of prayers for the dead. When one of the monks or benefactors died, the chief of the house addressed to all the associated houses a brief or schedule of the deceased, *brevia pro defuncto*, for whom their prayers were required, and insertion in their necrologies.

Independent of these individual briefs, annual ones were also addressed to the monasteries. Moreover, each house preserved its own general mortuary list, with an eulogium on the deceased, exposed to view in the most frequented apartment; and as these lists were ordinarily written upon rolls of parchment, they were indifferently called *rotuli* or *libri rotulares*.

When, however, the roll concerned a person distinguished for his piety and holiness, something more was done. The associated monasteries replied to the notification upon the roll itself, which passed from hand to hand, and from monastery to monastery, and each successively inscribed on the roll the written evidence of its regrets and its association. Ordinarily, in early times, these responses of the monasteries were composed in verse, as epitaphs, in which were expressed the praises of the deceased and the consolation offered to the living. To such pieces was given the name of *tituli*. The roll before us is of this kind, but the two responses represented on the Plate, although both bear the name of *titulus*, are in prose, and merely contain a kind of *visa* of the communication of the roll to the two monasteries which caused these entries to be made.

The roll has for its object the decease of St. Vitalis, first

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Abbot of Savigny, who died in 1122, and the participation in the efficacy of the prayers addressed to this holy monk. It is subscribed by a great number of monasteries, some of whose adhesions are introduced in very energetic terms, but those in the two fac-similes are more modestly worded. In the first we read:—

TITULUS S. BARTHOLOMEI AP[OSTO]LI ET SCOR [*sanctorum*] CONFESSORU[M] TEODERICI ET THEODULFI, I[N] MONTE ORO. **Anima domni Vitalis et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum requiescant in pace. Amen.** Orate pro nris [*nostris**] quia oravimus pro vris [*vestris.*]

This is the monastery of Mont-Or, or Mont d'Hor, now St. Thierri, near Rheims.

The second entry is to be read:—

TITULUS SCOR APLOR [*apostolorum*] PETRI ET PAULI SCORQ. CONFESSOR[UM] XPI [*Christi*] ET VETERINI EPI[*episcopi*] A. [*Augustodunensis?*] ET LEONARDI ABBATIS CORBINIENSIS CENOBII. **Animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum requiescant in pace.**

This *titulus* designates the monastery of Corbigny, in Morvant, in the diocese of Autun.

It appears probable, from the calligraphic pretensions of these two entries, that the scribe of each monastery exerted all his skill, since the roll passed under the eyes of a great number of his brethren. The scribe of Mont-Or evidently possessed some reputation; his majuscule letters could scarcely be made more striking, more varied, or better arranged. They are joined together, written within one another, flourished, floreated, prolonged into volutes, and truncated in various manners; some equally elegant uncial letters being introduced among them.

In the second *titulus*, the great initial letter T is *anthropomorphic*, composed of human figures, including the

* MM. Champollion erroneously read *nobis*.—ED.

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Devil, who forms the upright stroke. The scribe of Corbigny has also his merits, but they are not to be compared with the consummate skill of him of Mont-Or. The majuscules of Corbigny are tall, close together, unequal, destitute of elegance, and mingled with Roman and uncial capitals; and were it not for the picturesque* T, the invention of which places its author at the head of all the scribes who have exhibited their talents in this roll, they are not otherwise worthy of remark.

This singular roll belongs to the royal Archives of France.

PLATE CLXXXIII.

CAPETIAN WRITING.

XIIIth CENTURY.

LATIN BIBLE OF FOUQUET.

The history of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris informs us, that after the arrest of Fouquet, the Superintendant-General of finances at Nantes, in 1661, the fine library which he had collected in his house at Saint-Mandé, near Vincennes, was seized by his creditors, and sold in 1667; and that the King purchased nearly three hundred of the most precious volumes, which are still to be recognized by their ancient binding, ornamented with a climbing squirrel, the arms of the unfortunate proprietor, and with the Greek letters ΦΦ interlaced, which he had chosen as his cypher. The Bible from whence

* How the French editors can apply such a term to the strange figure in the Plate, it is difficult to say. It would have been more to the purpose, had he added a few words relative to the popular notions of *Satan* in the middle ages, which this uncouth composition tends to illustrate. See Dante, *L'Inferno*, canto xxxiv.—Ed.

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the present fac-simile has been copied, was one of those thus purchased from the library of Fouquet*, who had obtained it from that of the celebrated Peiresc, one of the greatest promoters of science, and most fortunate collectors of bibliographical rarities, in the seventeenth century.

This manuscript is no less than twenty-five inches in height, and is written upon strong vellum, in double columns, with very wide margins, and consists of 462 leaves, ornamented with very beautiful illuminated letters, heightened with gold. It has been recently re-bound, as is indicated by the cypher formed of the letter L crowned.

This fine volume contains the entire Bible, in the Latin version of St. Jerome, and it will be seen from the Plate, that several kinds of writing are employed in it.

The first two lines are written in red, with letters of different sorts, in which, however, the Capetian capitals are most numerous, mingled with uncials and with capitals inserted in one another; tall, distinct, truncated, the bases and summits horizontal, sometimes hooked, and lastly, dotted and flourished.

The text of these two lines consists of fifteen groups of letters, each of which forms an abbreviated word, composed thus:—

Ī NOMINE DN̄I ICIPIT† EPL̄A IHERONIMI PBR̄I AD PAULIN̄U PBR̄ DE OMNIB^{9} DIVINIS YSTORIE LIBRIS, that is, *In nomine Domini, incipit epistola Iheronimi presbiteri ad Paulinum presbyterum, de omnibus divinis Ystoriæ libris.*

The text of the epistle then commences with a gigantic F, not less than eighteen inches high in the manuscript. The body of this letter is gold on an azure ground, highly orna-

* Now marked No. 10, in the Bibliothèque Royale (*fonds Latin*).—Ed.

† This word is left out in the French text, and only *fourteen* groups reckoned.—Ed.

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mented with arabesques and interlacings; the base being formed of a crouching lion, and the top terminating in the figure of a wivern. Figures of men are also introduced in the upper part of the open space. This beautiful letter, delineated by a skilful hand, is the initial of a group, consisting of the letters FRAT̄, followed by two others, AM, and BROSIUS, (*Frater Ambrosius,*) and form the first words of the epistle of Jerome, the next line of which, *tua michi munuscula per*—, is a mixture of small capitals, uncials, and minuscules.

The remainder of the text is in a small Capetian minuscule, inclining to the modern Gothic, being slightly angular; the tails and top-strokes are short; the *e* with a cedilla used for *æ;* and the abbreviations not numerous. We here see the ancient renovated Caroline in a deteriorated state, and such is the principal characteristic of the writing of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which is the period this fine manuscript belongs to. The entire text is to be read:—

FRATER AMBROSIUS tua michi munuscula perferens detulit, et suavissimas literas quæ in principio amicitiar*um* fidem probatæ jam fidei, et vet*er*is amicitiæ preferebant. Vera enim illa necessitudo est et in x̄pi [*Christi*] glutino copulata, quam n*on* utilitas rei familiaris, n*on* presentia tantum corpor*um*, n*on* subdola et palpans adulatio, sed D*e*i timor et divinarum scripturarum studia conciliant. Legimus in vet*er*ibus historiis quosdam ustrasse pr*o*vincias, novos adisse popu*l*os, maria transisse, ut eos quos ex libris nover*ant*. . . . .

This text scarcely differs from the printed editions of the Latin Vulgate, (at the head of which this epistle of St. Jerome is to be found,) which was declared authentic by the Council of Trent, in the middle of the sixteenth century, and universally adopted by the Roman Catholic Church. The importance of this version as a sacred book, caused copies of it to be multiplied in all ages. The copy before us is distinguished by its great size, fine execution, and the large illuminated initials at the beginning of each principal division; of which the fac-simile will give a faithful idea, although it must be borne

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in mind, that the original page in the manuscript is one-third larger than in the fac-simile, in which, however, nothing material has been omitted.

PLATE CLXXXIV.

GOTHIC LUDOVICIAN WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

LATIN AND FRENCH VERSIONS OF THE PSALTER.

THE volume from which this fac-simile has been copied, is one of the few manuscripts which may be considered as monuments both of the literature and arts of the middle ages. To these two real merits the present volume adds a third, that of being an important document for sacred criticism. It contains, in fact, the Psalms of David, according to four different versions.

In the first column is the Latin version of the Psalms, made from the original Hebrew; in the second column is the Latin Roman version; the third column, which exceeds the others in width and in the size of the writing, contains the Latin Gallican version; and lastly, a French version is added interlinearly in the first column. Such a work, containing a revision of the texts of the principal versions, indicates a period when the Latin Church had not arrived at that unity which it has since maintained by the authority of a Council, in the exclusive and orthodox use of one of the numerous Latin translations of the Bible then in existence.

As the Latin language extended even into the East, from the period when the seat of the empire was transferred to

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Constantinople, the Bible translated into Greek would no longer suffice for the varied population of the empire. A Latin version was therefore made, but it was unknown even in the time of St. Augustine, who was the author of the first, and more than one were afterwards circulated. One of these, however, was more respected than the rest, namely, that which St. Augustine terms the *Italic*, St. Jerome the *Common* or *Extended*, and St. Gregory the *Ancient*. It is this which St. Jerome in his youth corrected by the Greek text, and which he also revised with the Hebrew. He subsequently studied the Hebrew more deeply with the Jewish Rabbis, and undertook (what had not been previously attempted,) a Latin translation of the canonical Hebrew books, from the Hebrew itself. He was led to this by the diversity of the Greek texts adopted in different Christian countries, and so confined himself to the books of the Bible which were originally written in Hebrew. His new Latin version, however, met with opposition, and St. Augustine, although the friend of Jerome, forbade the use of it in his diocese; the Jews approved of it, and the partisans of the Greek text condemned it. Hence the two Latin versions, namely, the ancient, made from the Greek, and the new one made from the Hebrew, divided the attention of the faithful, without any ecclesiastical sentence being declared against either. St. Gregory accorded to the two texts an equal authority, and from this wise toleration a third Latin text of the Bible arose, partaking of both the preceding; conforming to the *Italic* in certain books, and to the revision of St. Jerome in others; and this mixture of the two versions constitutes the Latin Bible generally known under the name of the *Vulgate*, and which the Council of Trent, for the maintenance of peace and unity, declared to be authentic, worthy of faith, preferable to every other Latin version, and without prejudice to the authority of the original texts. A recension of this translation was made by order of Popes

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Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., since which time a great number of editions of it have been printed.

The Psalter adopted in the Vulgate is not the translation of St. Jerome; it is the text of the ancient version, and bears in the manuscript before us the name of the *Gallican*, having been generally adopted in the churches of Gaul.

This manuscript, however, possesses a higher interest on account of the very ancient French translation which is interlined above the Latin in the first column, and its comparison with modern French will excite considerable interest.

Sire, li mieis deus, en tei esperai, salve mei de tuz les parsiwanz mei, e delivre mei.—(Ps. vii.)

This volume is splendidly illuminated, as its large size would well allow it to be; the writing is the same throughout, and as the scribe proceeded, he reserved a blank space in nearly every page for the miniature which was to ornament it. The scribe finished his task; but the life of the miniaturist was not long enough for his labor, and many paintings are still wanting. The miniatures, moreover, were executed by successive hands, so that between the first and the last not less than two centuries are apparent in the differences of style, composition, gilding, and coloring. The volume forms thus a kind of museum, containing illustrations of the state and progress of the art during a period of two hundred years.

The minuscule Gothic writing is large, massive, angular, and conjoined, of the period of St. Louis, and is accompanied by uncial floreated capitals; but the latter miniatures are of the fifteenth century. Italian art is visible in the whole of them, although the writing is Cisalpine in its origin and execution. This fine volume belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris*.

* *Suppl. Fr.* No. 1152 *bis.* See the Introduction of Le Roux de Lincy to *Les Quatre Livres des Rois*, p. x.—Ed.

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PLATE CLXXXV

LUDOVICIAN, OR MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

FRENCH TRANSLATION OF THE MORALS ON JOB, OF POPE GREGORY I.

THE manuscript which contains this translation in old French of extracts from the work of Pope Gregory the Great, having for its title *Morals on the Book of Job*, belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale (No. 210 *bis, fonds Notre-Dame*), having been received with the manuscripts of the metropolitan church of Paris, obtained by the King nearly a century ago.

This volume is of a quarto form, on vellum, written in long lines, and ruled with a plummet; it is in two different hands, and well preserved, and contains, besides the work above mentioned, *Li quatre livre des dialoges Grégoire lo Pape ... des miracles des pères de Lumbardie*, together with a discourse on Wisdom.

The text of the first work is ornamented with numerous colored initials at the beginning of the paragraphs; but the portion of the volume containing the Dialogues is distinguished by its titles and rubrics in vermilion, and its flourished, embroidered, and colored letters, heightened with gold; and such ornaments ought to be carefully observed, since the determination of the real age of this manuscript was a subject of controversy among the learned in the last century.

Palæography was not alone interested in this discussion, the national language of France also took a great share in it, since this manuscript is a monument of the state of the language

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at the period when it was written, and of very high interest, if it really belongs to the ancient date (for a French text) which has been assigned to it by some critics. On the *recto* of the first leaf of the volume are these words, written in a cursive hand of the fifteenth century,—*Job en françoys, et le Dyalogue St. Gregore* (*en françois*, added by another hand); and in a still more modern hand, is the following note,—"*Ecriture du xie siècle, on peut en etre certain. C'est le plus ancien manuscrit en langue françoise de tous ceux qui sont connus. Il n'y en a aucun aussi ancien en cette langue, ny à la bibliothèque du Roy,* (*ni à*) *St. Germain, St.-Victor, la Sorbonne. Celui qui approche le plus de celui cy pour l'antiquité, est la traduction des 4 livres des Rois, qui est à la bibliothèque des Cordeliers.*"

By the side of these words, written in so decided a tone, another learned person, the Abbé de la Rue, who had studied the history of the French language, has added his opinion, assigning the translations contained in this manuscript to the first half of the twelfth century; its style and orthography appearing to him to be of this period, by comparison with the works of the *trouvères*, written at the same period, in manuscript, which he had examined in the British Museum at London.

Besides these opinions, there is still a third, equally strong and positive, Mabillon* having written at the end of the first note as follows,—"*Il me paroît bien certain, que l'ecriture de ce manuscrit n'est que du xiiie siècle.* (*Signed*) M.;" and as to the French translation of the Books of Kings, Mabillon adds, —"*Cette version, à en juger par le style, ne remonte pas plus haut que le xiie siècle.*"

It is necessary, however, to distinguish between the date of the composition of these French texts and the time of

* Not *Mabillon*, but *Méon*, editor of the *Fabliaux*, according to Le Roux de Lincy, who describes this manuscript, p. cxxiii., and publishes the Comment on Job.—Ed.

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their transcription, or, in other words, between the period of the *language* and that of the *writing;* and this is the more important, because many French texts exist composed in the twelfth century, which, having been copied in the fourteenth or fifteenth, have been subjected to the grammatical forms of the latter periods, and have thus lost the characteristics of their real date.

The manuscript evidently belongs to the thirteenth century. The fac-simile exhibits a minuscule Capetian writing, already become Ludovician, (so termed from the angular forms introduced in the time of St. Louis,) and is distinguished from the Roman minuscule by its points and angles, the thick and close strokes, with oblique tops, and the bases rounded, and turned upwards; the tails and top-strokes short and thick, truncated diagonally; the *i* accentuated, and the letters united together; and, lastly, by the separation of the words, the punctuation, and the numerous and singular abbreviations.

The initial P is in good taste, with flourishes on all sides. It is the commencement of the argument of the chapter,— *Por coi est donëie la lumiere al dolent? En la saínte escriture signefiet alafoiz la lumiere la p[ro]sp[er]iteit, & la nuiz ladv[er]siteit de cest mu[n]de,* etc.

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PLATE CLXXXVI.

MINUSCULE CAPETIAN WRITING.

BEGINNING OF THE XIIITH CENTURY.

SERMONS OF ST. BERNARD, IN OLD FRENCH.

THE manuscript from which this fac-simile is copied has acquired some reputation from the name of the author of the work which it contains, and the antiquity of the idiom in which it is written. The volume is of a quarto form, consisting of 152 leaves of fine vellum, and the text is written across the page, each of which contains twenty-eight lines, ruled with a plummet. It is imperfect at the end.

Although long regarded as a volume of great value, its early history is quite unknown. On the first page (originally left blank) there is the following partly-effaced inscription, apparently in a hand of the fifteenth century, *Hic liber est Johannis Fernandi, presbyteri* ..... with the signature, *J. Fernandas.* Another historical circumstance, but of later date, is recorded in a note on the fly-leaf, from which we learn that the volume belonged to Me. Nicolas Le Fèvre, preceptor of Louis XIII., and that Le Fèvre gave it to the R. P. Jean Goulu, of the Order of Feuillants*, who was twice the General of his Order, and acquired the reputation of a learned theologian and eloquent orator. He died in 1629, and from the library of the Feuillants of Paris the volume passed into the Bibliothèque Royale.

The title of the volume is written on the *verso* of the first leaf, where the text commences with this rubric,—*Ci encom-*

* A branch of the Cistercian Order, established about the year 1575, which derived its name from the abbey of Feuillants in Languedoc.—ED.

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mencent li Sermon Saint Bernart, kil fait de lavant et des altres festes pormei lans. The fac-simile represents the *recto* of the 138th leaf of the volume, and contains the commencement of a sermon, the subject of which is indicated by this rubric, at the foot of the preceding page,—*Li primiers sermons de lanunciacion nostre Segnor Jesu Crist, ensi com il dexandet en nostre damme;* and the sermon begins with this exclamation,—*O cum es riches en misericorde, chier sire, cu*[*m*] *granz en justise, & cu*[*m*] *larges en graice. Nuls nen e*[*st*] *qui semblanz soit a ti tres larges doneires, tres droituriers rewerdoneres, & tres pis delivreires. Tu reuuardes les humles sens nule lor desserte, tu juges droiteriement les innocenz, & si salves nes les pecheors p*[*ar*] *ta misericorde. Ce sunt, chier frere, cez choses,* etc.

The text of these Sermons has often been quoted as a certain proof of the state of the French language in the twelfth century, since it is to this period that the manuscript before us has been attributed, by those who consider, that it was written *twenty-five or thirty years at most* (as stated in the note above referred to,) *after the death of St. Bernard,* that is to say, about the year 1180; and this opinion has been adopted by several writers, who have endeavoured to trace from contemporary materials the history of the French language, especially by M. Duclos (*Académie des Inscriptions, tom.* xvii. *Mém.* p. 181).

At first sight the language of the manuscript may appear very regular and polished for the end of the twelfth century, but it may be answered, that St. Bernard lived at court, among the best educated persons of the time, and would, therefore, adopt the most improved style of language; but, as St. Bernard, according to Mabillon, preached his sermons in Latin, the French text cannot be his own*.

* See Le Roux de Lincy's remarks on this manuscript, Introduction to *Les Quatre Livres des Rois,* pp. cxxix.—cxliii.—Ed.

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If we examine the composition of this text, very few inversions occasioned by Latin influence are to be perceived, and the words are arranged according to the logical rules of grammar. The words in the singular end in *s*, whilst those in the plural omit the *s;* and this orthography infers not only the existence of such a rule, but also the previous and general practice of the written language, in order to establish it. The orthographical peculiarities do not indicate a language in its infancy; *v* for *g* and *a* for *e** are of all dates; there are but few unusual words in the text, and still fewer which preserve their primitive Latin forms; and, lastly, the terminations of gender and number, peculiar to the ancient French, are all found here without omission.

The character of the writing agrees with these grammatical remarks. The text is a strong Capetian minuscule, truncated at the summits of the letters, quite distinct in its words, and slightly sloping, especially in the first half of the manuscript, which appears to be in a different hand from the second half. The writing of the latter is rather larger, the summits of the strokes are thick, and truncated obliquely, and the bases generally terminate in a rounded stroke, turned upwards. The letters are often united together; the top-strokes are short, massive, clavate, and truncated obliquely; the tails are pointed, with the ends turned towards the line; the *i*, without dot or accent; *u* and *v* are of the same figure; the *y* is dotted. The writing is, in general, but slightly angular, and the *e* and *o* do not show the Gothic corruption; it is, therefore, of the latter end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century. Both the writing and the idiom appear to us to belong to the latter period.

* So in the French text, but it is not clear how such a remark can apply.—Ed.

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PLATE CLXXXVII.

MODERN GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

NEW TESTAMENT, IN LATIN.

THE period of the decline of arts and literature has been regarded as that in which the style of writing termed *Gothic* had its rise. The latter term implies an idea of reprobation, which does not admit of the supposition, that it was invented or adopted at a time when this kind of writing prevailed throughout the whole of Europe. This writing would then appear full of beauty; but when a taste for the really beautiful, and a return towards the perfect models of antiquity, led to a knowledge of the degradation occasioned by modern forms, the Roman letters were again regarded with favor, and those which had been altered from them were disdained as Gothic. It was in the sixteenth century that this judgment was pronounced against the Gothic letters, with their endless angles. These letters had originated in the twelfth century, when the decay of the fine Roman writing, the irregular mixture of its different varieties, the neglect of its rules, and the adoption of barbarous forms, were sufficient to produce a kind of writing which was no longer Roman, and of which the use spread the more rapidly, from the want of fixed principles regulating its forms and proportions, which left a greater liberty to the caprice and ignorance of scribes, desirous perhaps of improvement, and fonder of ornaments than their predecessors.

The use of this Gothic writing was general in all parts of Europe, where the Latin writing was received; from the end

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of the twelfth century it was adopted by all the scribes; in the middle of the thirteenth it was brought to perfection, or rather first established, for it retained scarcely any resemblance to the Roman letters; hence it has been termed *Ludovician*, because this success, or rather this extreme departure from the primitive types, appears to have become most complete during the reign of St. Louis, and to have continued down to the reign of Francis I. It is also the century when the variations in the writing of manuscripts and charters became the most remarkable. Endless abbreviations, and letters united and conjoined together, increased the difficulties of the writing, and contributed to render even the practice of reading more difficult and limited, and at the same time to distract the mind from studious pursuits, and to maintain more efficaciously the general ignorance, to which even the highest classes of society were subject.

However this may be, it is certain that the renovation of letters in Europe dates from the same period as that of the art of writing; the good sense of the public spontaneously undertook, and successfully accomplished, what the genius of Charlemagne had proposed seven centuries previously; and the re-adoption of the fine Roman writing for public monuments and books, was one of the steps in the general progress and actual prosperity of literature.

The examples of *modern* Gothic writing are extremely numerous, since much was written during the three centuries during which this style was in general use. Its varieties are, therefore, infinite, and it would be difficult to give specimens of them all, especially if the manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are included, the most repulsive of all those which come under the denomination of Gothic. The general use also of paper made of rags contributed to the deformity of the writing.

The fac-simile before us shews, however, that the Gothic

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writing occasionally furnished some beautiful specimens; and the two pages here represented present no excessive deformities*. In its general effect, this writing is very regularly formed, uniform, and well spaced, and the fine initials clearly indicate a good taste; it must, however, be observed, that this is one of the oldest specimens of this kind of writing, and may be considered as contemporary with St. Louis. The first letter in each page is of gigantic size; the Q is enclosed in a square frame, with the inner strokes carried out towards the centre of the letter, and ornamented in the open space with arabesques. The letters which follow and complete the word *Quonia*[*m*], are curved Capetian majuscules, mixed with uncials. The initial P in the second page has its first stroke open, and its interior ornamented with foliated arabesque, elongated with volutes. The top line is also in Capetian majuscules, tall, well truncated, and flourished; the last two letters, ET, being Saxon uncials. The text is in modern Gothic minuscules, upright, heavy, and angular; the bases of the strokes bent upwards, and the top-strokes clavate, the tails cut off diagonally, and the words divided.

These two pages contain the *Preface of St. Jerome*† to the Gospel of St. Luke, and the commencement of the second Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.

* Nor do hundreds of other manuscripts written in the earlier *Gothic* period, so violently attacked by the French editors.—Ed.

† This is a grave error. These are the prefatory words of St. Luke himself to his Gospel, numbered as v. 1–4 in the editions of the Vulgate. The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, *Suppl. Lat.*, No. 252.—Ed.

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PLATE CLXXXVIII.

MINUSCULE LUDOVICIAN WRITING.

MIDDLE OF THE XIIITH CENTURY.

LANCELOT AND MORT ARTUS, BRANCHES OF THE ROMANCES OF THE ROUND TABLE.

THE manuscript which has supplied this fac-simile, when re-bound about a century ago, was lettered "*Histoire du Roi Artus,*" but this title is not sufficiently exact. The volume is a folio of the size represented in the Plate, and the double columns are surrounded by four wide margins, notwithstanding its having been sadly cropped by the last binder. The pages, columns, and lines (without marginal punctures), are ruled with a plummet. The graphic execution of the text is quite regular throughout, although it contains as many as 468 pages. The titles of the chief divisions of the work are rubricated, and initials in gold and colors indicate the commencement of each subdivision. Numerous miniatures on a golden ground illustrate the text, the chief subjects of which extend across the entire page, whilst the others only occupy the width of one of the columns.

Notwithstanding the title given to this fine volume, it consists of the last part of Lancelot and the Mort Artus, two of the branches of the romances of the Round Table. The Lancelot occupies about two-thirds of the volume, and ends where Mort Artus commences, as stated in a sort of preface in the following words,—"*Après cou que maistres Gautiers Map* (Walter Map or Mapes, an English Latin poet, chaplain to Henry II.,) *ot portraitié des aventures del Graal asses soufissamment, si com il li sambloit, si fu avis au roi Henri, son*

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signor, que ce kil avoit fait ne devoit pas soufire, sil ne le recontast la fin de cex, dont il avoit devant faite mentiun, et comment cil morurent, de qui il avoit les proèces ramenteues en son livre." In consequence, Walter Map undertook this *dernière partie*, and when he had completed it, he named it *la Mort Artus.*

At the end of the volume, its date is added in these terms, *Cis Roumans fu parescris en l'an del incarnation nostre Segnor mil deus cens & sixante & quatorse, le semedi apriès les octaves de le Trinité. Pries pour ce li ki lescrist.* The name of the scribe has fortunately been preserved in a note written by the learned Lacurne de Sainte Palaye*, whilst the manuscript was in its ancient state, and before a red morocco binding replaced the modest primitive boards, covered with calf. On the inside of the upper cover was written the word *Bloys*, in a hand of the fifteenth century, and on a leaf of vellum fastened to the inside of the lower cover, appeared these words, in the same hand as the entire volume,—*Escrit par les mains de Pierre Palmier.* From these notes we learn, that the manuscript was written in 1274, by Pierre Palmier, and that it came from the ancient library of the royal Château of Blois. These notes have unfortunately been lost in the modern binding, and hence may be urged the necessity for the preservation of ancient fly-leaves containing the slightest written memoranda, when manuscripts are re-bound.

From the above date, no doubt can exist as to the age of the manuscript; the very decided forms of the letters equally characterize it, and we recognise in them the ancient heavy Roman minuscules, here become almost entirely Gothic. Scarcely any straight lines are visible, and angles are produced

* *Notices des Manuscrits de France*, No. 665. See also *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, par M. Paulin Paris, tom. ii., p. 361. (No. 6963.)

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with unfortunate abundance. Each of the strokes of the letters *m*, *n*, *i*, *u*, consists of three parts in different directions; *o*, *e*, *a*, *c*, *d*, exhibit points on their outer margins; rounded strokes have been avoided, and the vertical strokes are terminated by a hair-line turned inwards; the top-strokes are dilated, and generally end in a claw; the ends of the tailed strokes are also curved upwards. The text is without abbreviations, and the orthography is very regular; the words are exactly divided at the end of the lines, and among the singularities of the text may be observed, that *c* is used for *s*, in *couki* for *souki* (ce qui), *doucour* for *dousour* (douceur), etc.; and that when a small blank space remains at the end of a line, it is filled up by a sign resembling a Gothic ℜ, with two dots below it; by which means it was customary to indicate in manuscripts the words or letters to be expuncted or suppressed.

The subject of the miniature in the Plate is pointed out by the rubric which precedes,—*Si com Boors et Hestor et Lioniaus vienent a un castiel, ki estoit enclos deue molt rade;* and we see in the miniature the knights approaching a "*petit chastiel . . . , et entour . . . avoit une riviere mout biele, et mout clere; et estoit li castiaus clos de ij. paire de murs, et de fosse mout richement,*" as stated in the 19—25th lines of the first column of the text. The date 1274 appears at the foot of the second column.

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PLATE CLXXXIX.

MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

XIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

THE APOCALYPSE IN FRENCH, "HISTORIÉE."

In the ancient French language, a work of any class was said to be *historié*, when its subject and principal incidents were represented in miniatures introduced into the text; thus a *Bible hystoriée, hystorial*, and even *hystoriaux*, was a Bible translated into French, and illustrated with miniatures more or less numerous, and varying in size according to the form of the volume, and the richness of its execution. The manuscript which has furnished the present fac-simile, is the Apocalypse of St. John translated into French, and accompanied by ninety-two miniatures; and the volume thence bears the name of *Apocalipse historié* on the first fly-leaf. We thence also learn, that this manuscript was in the library of the Château of Blois, founded by Charles d'Orléans after the termination of his captivity in England, and which became the Bibliothèque Royale, when his son, Louis XII., carried to Blois the books which Louis XI. and Charles VIII. had collected in the *Tour de la Librairie*, at the Louvre.

This manuscript, which is written on fine white vellum, retains also the shelf-mark by which it was entered in the ancient catalogue of the Royal Library at Blois, and we read this note on the *verso* of the same fly-leaf, in Gothic letters, *Des histoires et livres en françoys, pulᵗᵒ* 3°. (3rd shelf) *à la cheminée.* The volume was removed by Francis I., with the remainder of the library of Blois, to the Château of Fontaine-

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bleau, in 1544, and by Henry IV. to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, in 1595*.

It may be added, that before this manuscript entered the library of Blois, it belonged to the library of the Louvre, whence it was temporarily taken†; and the coat-of-arms with three fleurs-de-lis, coarsely painted at the foot of the first page, covers the arms of the Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, who previously possessed it.

On examining this volume with attention, it becomes evident that it was originally intended to execute an Apocalypse *historiée, i. e.*, with figures, the upper half of the page being reserved for the miniatures, and the lower for the text, without any very nice calculation as to the space required. This is proved, first, because some of the leaves (the 4th, 45th, and last) have no miniatures, and have been inserted in order to receive the text; and secondly, by the unequal distribution of the text over the pages, in some of which there is so much, that it is carried to the next leaf; whilst in others, there are only a few lines, and some are even left blank.

The drawings must have been executed first, leaving as much room for the text as was sufficient for their description, even by occasional abridgment. This appears from the following note, in a bad cursive hand, at the foot of the first page,—*Fiat opus abstractum Costresdy et Hugo de Vi super Apocalypsi, et inscribate circa et sub picturas sequentes, et tunc erit complacens, et si necesse fuerit, fiat rasura Gallici.* The writer of this note directs, that an abstract should be made of the work of Costresdy and Hugo de Vi on the Apocalypse; and that the text should be written round and below the pictures, in which state the work would be satisfactory; and

* It is now numbered 7013.—Ed.

† Charles the Fifth took it away, and lent it to the Duke of Anjou, in order to furnish subjects for his tapestry.—Ed.

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that, if it were necessary, suppressions should be made in the French text.

There are certainly but few manuscripts containing such precise memoranda, and still fewer with information in regard to the names of the illuminators. The Latin note appears to us to designate as the artists of the drawings in this Apocalypse, *Costresdy* and *Hugh de Vi*, unknown, indeed, but who are thus placed among the best miniaturists of the middle ages*.

The first three pages are destitute of text, and the six miniatures which they contain, illustrate the history of St. John during the days which preceded the composition of the Apocalypse. The work commences immediately afterwards with the words, *Apocalipsis Cristi Jesu*, written in small uncials beneath the seventh miniature. We may here remark the singular and pious feeling shewn by the illuminators. The figure of St. John, in addition to the nimbus round his head, is distinguished by his fine figure and attitude; whereas the figures of his Pagan enemies are purposely drawn hideous or grotesque, and the strangeness of their habiliments completes the expression of the artists' idea. We cannot venture to determine the country of these artists†, but we remark in their

* M. Paulin Paris, who describes this manuscript at length in *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibl. du Roi*, tom. iii., p. 371, very justly questions this statement, and supposes the names of *Costesdy* (not *Costresdy*) and *Hugo de Vi* to refer, not to the artists, but to the authors of the commentary or gloss added to the miniatures. There can be no doubt that he is right, and, in all probability, *Hugo de Vi* is the well-known Cardinal *Hugo de Vienna* or *de Sancto Caro*, who died in 1260, and whose *Postillæ in universa Biblia* have been often printed. In the Old Royal collection, British Museum, 19 B. xv., is a copy of this version and gloss in French, illustrated with miniatures of English art, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in 2 D. xiii., is another copy of the thirteenth century, in which the gloss is in French verse. A third copy, with miniatures of French art, remarkably well executed, soon after the year 1300, has been recently acquired, Ms. Add. 17,341.—Ed.

† M. Paulin Paris states, that the manuscript was certainly executed in *England*, as shewn by the ornaments and the dialect. He contends, also, that the drawings are considerably earlier than the text. On the

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compositions a great facility of invention, a profound study of costume, strong powers of caricature, and facility in the art of combining antique draperies with the crusader's coat of mail. The architecture more particularly retains the Byzantine or Lombardic character of Italy, being probably very ancient types ably reproduced in the twelfth or thirteenth century. From a more modern note, the work would appear to have been originally composed for Charlemagne*. The subject of the miniature in the fac-simile is described in the fifteenth and sixteenth verses of chapter XII. of the Apocalypse, and is very exactly described in the French text.

This text is written in double columns; the letters are a pure Gothic minuscule, close, heavy, and broken, with sharp points and corresponding angles, some of the letters being conjoined, and with abbreviations. The thirteenth century is distinctly manifested by all these graphic characters.

PLATE CXC.

MODERN GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

LATIN EVANGELIARIUM.

THE vellum manuscript, written in double columns and ornamented with miniatures, from which this fac-simile has

contrary, M. Jeanron, in his Commentary on Vasari's account of Giulio Clovio, tom. vii. p. 211. 8vo. 1841, is of opinion that the volume was written in France about 1250, and interesting as exhibiting the transition between the art of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.—ED.

* This note is as follows—*Apocalipsis in pictura, factus Carolo Magno,* and is said to be written in a hand of the *twelfth* century; but this seems very doubtful.—ED.

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been copied*, consists of only twenty-nine leaves, occupied by some Gospel-lessons, the Passion, and a portion of an Antiphonary. The notes for chanting are black, square, and tailed, and are written on four yellow lines; but the volume abounds with ornaments of every kind.

All the Lessons commence with a large letter, containing a rich miniature, an example of which is given in the Plate. The oblong compartment which forms the letter I is occupied by several figures seated or standing†, above whom are drawn the tops of some buildings. This is therefore a letter really *historiated*, and if the fifteenth century, to which the manuscript belongs‡, is the date when this kind of letters, as well as miniatures, began to exhibit a more correct taste, it is not in the present manuscript that we can find any evident proof of it. The lower part of this I extends to the bottom of the page, where it terminates in a volute, throwing off three branches, which form the fantastic tail of a dragon, the body of which serves as the base of the letter.

Some of the similar letters in this manuscript are more remarkable in point of art; thus the miniature which fills up the loop of the initial P at the commencement of the Passion, is divided by a cross into four compartments, containing the four principal scenes of this portion of the life of Christ. Some of these historiated letters are of gigantic size, and occupy the entire length of the page. The titles of the Lessons are generally written in vermilion, and sometimes in blue; but the use of the latter color as well as of yellow has not been

* In the Bibliothèque Royale (*Suppl. Lat.*, No. 665).—Ed.

† Representing the apostles addressed by Mary Magdalen, after her visit to the tomb. She has a nimbus round her head.—Ed.

‡ In the French text, and on the Plate, the date is assigned, most erroneously, to the *fifteenth* century, but corrected in the table of Plates prefixed to the first volume. This alteration, however, renders the remarks of MM. Champollion here rather at variance with the facts. —Ed.

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restricted to a period sufficiently marked, to admit of any inference therefrom to determine the age of the manuscript.

The titles, as well as the text, are written in modern Gothic minuscules; and it may be useful here to observe, that this kind of writing has been thus designated on account of its arbitrarily deformed strokes; for the Goths were as much strangers to the invention of this writing, as were the Lombard conquerors of Italy to the invention of the so-called Lombardic characters. In the sixteenth century, with the revival of good taste, the ancient Roman writing was again restored, and the learned of that day gave the title of Gothic to all the deformities of art and taste of the three or four preceding centuries.

The modern Gothic writing (called *modern,* to distinguish it from the slightly deformed Roman writing, contemporary with the Goths,) is especially distinguished by its infinite variety of forms; to specify all of which would require an immense volume, according to the Benedictines.

The decline still continued, and the manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are, in general, miserably executed; the ink is brown, the vellum badly chosen, rough, thick, and ill prepared; the writing close, complicated, and overcharged with an infinity of capricious strokes, as useless as ridiculous. This literary calamity is ascribed to the idle scholastic disputes of the period, which, being beyond the capacity of the scribes, compelled them to remain idle; and the want of occupation thus led to the degeneration of the graphic art. The multiplicity of arbitrary abbreviations, and the embarrassing complications of the letters, doubled the difficulties already produced by the irregular and disproportionate size of the letters; and it is to these accumulated difficulties that the general ignorance of reading and writing, especially of the nobility, is to be attributed. The use of the modern Gothic writing spread over Europe; the art of printing at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries

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propagated it still more extensively; but good taste and the general progress of the arts soon afterwards rejected it, and in our days, it is only in Germany that its use has been retained as a national usage, difficult to be modified by general practice.

We may, nevertheless, recommend the specimen of Gothic writing represented in the Plate as one of the most perfect in its regularity and even elegance. It is tall, firm, angulated, and pointed, but not truncated, and without the fine lines which connect the thick and thin strokes; the tails are short and truncated, the top-strokes full and forked, and some of the letters are conjoined.

The reading of the fac-simile presents but little difficulty, and commences as follows :—

In illo tempore Maria Magdalene, & Maria Jacobi, & Salome emerunt aromata, ut venientes ungerent Jhesum. Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum, orto jam sole. Et dicebant ad invicem, Quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti? *etc.*

PLATE CXCI.

MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

HOURS OF LOUIS II., DUKE OF ANJOU.

A TRADITION founded upon written documents informs us, that the book of Prayers from which this beautiful fac-simile has been made, belonged to Louis II., Duke of Anjou, Count of Maine, Regent of France during the minority of Charles VI., and subsequently King of Naples, and Count of Provence, who was the grandson of King John, brother of Charles V.,

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uncle of Charles VI., and father of the good King Réné*, the richest of princes nominally, but the poorest in reality, having too much forgotten the duties of royalty, in order to devote himself to the cultivation of his taste as a painter, musician, and poet.

The volume before us is of a small quarto form, composed of 290 leaves of fine vellum; it is in a minuscule writing, much mingled with capitals, in long lines, twenty-two of which fill a page, ruled with a plummet. All the chapters commence with an initial letter, of the class termed *tourneures*, or Gothic majuscule, *turned* as gracefully as the miniator was able.

The finest of these letters are *historiated* in their open spaces, which are occupied by arabesques or flowers, heightened with gold, or by subjects painted in miniature, and very frequently with the shield of arms of modern Anjou, which is semée of France, surrounded by a border gules†.

A great number of admirable miniatures ornament this precious volume, some of which are about three inches square, and others two inches; one only occupies the entire page, and is prefixed to the office or collection of prayers to be said before starting on a journey, in order that it may be prosperous. It represents a personage of rank on foot, quitting his mansion, accompanied by his principal attendants, and protected by an angel in the air. Besides these rich illuminations, a great number of the leaves have borders on three sides, and occasionally on all four, formed of beautiful arabesques of leaves and flowers, heightened with gold, with birds or

* The French editors have carelessly confounded Louis II. of Anjou with his father Louis I. It is the latter who was brother of Charles V., Regent of France, and uncle of Charles VI.—Ed.

† In the specimen given in the Plate, as also in the fac-simile by Humphreys, in his *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, the border is *engrailed*, an important heraldic distinction overlooked by MM. Champollion, but which marks the difference between the arms of Louis II. of Anjou, and of his uncle John, Duke of Berry, for the latter of whom, probably, this volume was originally executed. This precious manuscript was formerly in the La Vallière collection, No. 284.—Ed.

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grotesque figures introduced, some of which are executed in the most delicate style, whilst others are of the most bizarre design. All the architectural details are treated in the Gothic style. A rich calendar, enclosed in borders, and ornamented with pious, emblematical, and historical subjects, consisting of figures two inches high, is placed at the commencement of the volume, for which it was doubtless executed. The fête of St. Louis is entered on the 25th of August, and the letters R.P. (or perhaps R.P.L.*) grouped together on a ground of arabesques, enter into the composition of the vignettes at the head of the pages of the twelve months, the days being ranged in double columns; but the arabesques of the borders are not ornamented with birds or other accessories.

This calendar is in French, and we cannot but notice the singularly close resemblance which appears, both in regard to style and coloring, between the paintings of this calendar and those of the large volume of *Hours* of John, Duke of Berry, a page of which is represented in this work†. The two manuscripts were, in fact, contemporary, as well as the two princes, uncle and nephew, who possessed them. A known date of the year 1390, belongs to the Hours of Duke Louis II., who died in 1417, and a date of 1400 to those of Duke John, who died in 1416.

After a moral discourse, intitled *L'estimeur du monde*, the page follows represented in the Plate. A title in red at the end of the moral discourse indicates the subject of the treatise following, and of the miniature at its commencement, in the following terms,—"*Et ensuiant sont li enseignement Monseigneur Sainct Loys, jadis Roys de France, quil aprist et escrist devant sa mort, a son ainsné filz, et aussi comme pour testament li laissa.*"

* Can it be possible, that the letters here noticed are only the usual KL., denoting the *Kalends*, or first day of each month?—Ed.

† See Plate CXCV.—Ed.

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We therefore here see the King St. Louis on his death-bed, at Tunis, delivering to one of his attendants the memorable instructions which he had prepared for his son and successor Philip le Hardi.

The page is entirely surrounded with an arabesque border ornamented with birds, and wherever a blank space occurs at the foot of the text, it is filled with pious or grotesque scenes, which add to the richness of the volume.

In the text may be recognized the modern Gothic minuscule, generally called *lettres de fourme*, which for a long time replaced the Roman minuscule. The initial T is decorated with the shield of Anjou*.

The volume is now bound in blue morocco, with the arms of Gaignières on the back; this binding is of the date of 1708. In the year 1606, it was covered with violet velvet, with corners and clasps of silver, by order of Charles, Duke of Lorraine and Bar; but its original binding was in silver, ornamented with precious stones, and on the volume was inscribed "*Louys, Roy de Hierusalem et de Sicile, Duc d'Anjou*, 1390." This date and the general style of the manuscript cause it to be referred to the latter half of the fourteenth century.

PLATE CXCII.

MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

END OF THE XIVTH CENTURY.

LES MERVEILLES DU MONDE, A COLLECTION OF TRAVELS IN ASIA.

If the peregrinations which form the subject of the present volume contain an account of the marvels of the world, it is

* Of *Berry*.—Ed.

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certain that the volume itself is no less a marvel ot art, as existing in France at the end of the fourteenth century. The accompanying Plate will give a better idea, than any description can do, of the richness and perfection of this volume, which is of a large folio size, written upon vellum, and ornamented with a profusion of miniatures, heightened with gold, preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale. (No. 8392, *fonds Fr.*) As the history of manuscripts of this magnificence and value is eagerly inquired after, the following are the authentic details respecting the volume before us.

The first leaf contains the exact title, as follows:—

"*Le livre des merveilles du monde, lequel contient six autheurs divers, Marc Pol; frère Ordric, de l'ordre des frères mineurs; le livre faict à la requeste du Carl. Taleran; le livre de messire Guillaume de Mandeville; le livre de frère Jehan Hayton; le livre de frère Bicul* [*Ricult** at the end of the manuscript,] *de l'ordre des frères prescheurs.*"

All these narratives, composed in Latin, were translated into French by Frère Jehan Le Lonc, surnamed de Ypres, (from the place of his birth,) a monk of Saint-Bertin, at Saint Omer, and nearly all in the year 1351; and they describe the kingdoms, peoples, and provinces, laws, sects, and heresies, monsters and marvels, which the aforesaid travellers discovered in the East.

It is from the library of the prodigal John, Duke of Berry, that this marvellous volume has descended to us; but at least it clears him from the severe reproaches of history, since it cost him nothing, but was given to him by his nephew the Duke of Burgundy, as we learn from the *ex libris* written on the two sides of the fifth leaf by N. Flamel, in admirable Gothic characters, as follows,—"*Lequel livre Jehan, Duc de Bourgouigne, donna à son oncle Jehan, fils du Roy de France,*

* Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, a Dominican friar of Florence, who visited the Holy Land, and is said to have died in the year 1309.—Ed.

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Duc de Berry et d'Auvergne," etc. From these details, therefore, it may be inferred, that Frère Jean Le Lonc made the French translation of these Latin travels about the year 1351; that the manuscript was presented to the Duke of Berry, (who died in 1416,) by his nephew John, surnamed *sans Peur*, Duke of Burgundy, who did not succeed to the dukedom until 1404, and, consequently, that it was between 1404 and 1416 the manuscript must have been presented to the Duke of Berry, the catalogues of whose library made in 1401 and 1403 do not mention this rich volume.

The miniature of the first page exhibits the arms of France, Burgundy, Flanders, and Hainault, in two escutcheons, which indicate a period posterior to the death of the Count of Flanders in 1384*, which gave to Philip le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, (father of Duke John,) the sovereignty of the duchy of Burgundy, the counties of Flanders, Rethel, etc., and we have, therefore, sure grounds for considering it as a work of the end of the fourteenth century†.

The fine modern Gothic writing employed in the text and rubrics indicate also the same period. This minuscule is large, heavy, tall, very angular, and much conjoined; the top-strokes and tails short, and always terminated in points, the down-stroke always ending in a triangular form, or in a rounded hair-stroke bent upwards; the *i* and *y* are accented; in other respects the writing has the words quite distinct, is punctuated, and of a regular and marked elegance. The initial letters C and E are closed, with embroidered work in the thick part

* These arms are, probably, *first*, Burgundy modern and ancient, quarterly, with Flanders in pretence; and *second*, Flanders and Holland, quarterly; and they refer to John sans Peur, and his wife Margaret of Bavaria, to whom he was married in 1385.—Ed.

† In Humphreys' *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, a fac-simile is given of a page of this manuscript, from the travels of Mandeville; but the miniature and border on it, as well as the shield of arms in the initial letter, have evidently been executed by a much later hand than the preceding portion of the volume.—Ed.

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of the strokes, and filled up in the centre with floreated arabesques. A foliated arabesque also runs round three of the sides of the text.

The miniature in the centre will give an idea of the merit of the drawing, coloring, and richness of the miniatures or *hystoires*, which ornament this precious volume, and on the last fly-leaf it is noted, that there are "*en ce livre iiic x. feuilles; istoires iiclxvi.*" In the *hystoire* here copied, a monk, accompanied by two Tartars, presents to Pope Benedict XII. the letter which had been addressed to him by the great Khan of Katay, above which we read,—"*C'est la coppie des lettres que ly empérères souverains des Tartars, le grant kaan de Katay, envoya au pappe Benoit le xije de ce nom, en l'an de grace mil trois cens xxxviij,*" etc. The line on the head of the page is the running title of the narrative of Guillaume de Boldesele, made* at the request of the very reverend lord, Monseigneur Talairant de Pierregort, Cardinal. The Pope is represented standing, his head crowned with the triple tiara, he having been the first who assumed this mark of dignity, and who died in 1342. This latter circumstance agrees with the others above mentioned, to fix the date of the present manuscript at the end of the fourteenth century.

* In 1336.—See Baluze, *Vitæ Paparum Avenionensium*, vol. i, col. 774, fol., Par. 1693.—Ed.

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PLATE CXCIII.

MODERN GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

END OF THE XIVTH CENTURY.

LES GRANDES CHRONIQUES DE FRANCE, OU DE SAINT-DENYS.

THE manuscript now under notice is one of the most precious among the many rare volumes of this kind in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. Its subject, splendid execution, and history, in which we learn the names of the kings by whose orders it was written, ornamented, and bound, or to whom it belonged, alike render it of high interest. The Chronicles of Saint-Denys long enjoyed (up to the seventeenth century) a fame which is easily explained by the very natural fondness of the French people for the most marvellous narratives of their national history, especially in the absence of criticism on the part both of readers and writers. But in the eighteenth century several learned men drew these chronicles from the oblivion into which they had at that time fallen, and Sainte-Palaye, D. Bouquet, and the Abbé Lebeuf investigated the names of their authors, the periods when they wrote, and the sources from whence they compiled. More recent researches by M. Paulin Paris and M. Léon Lacabane have added to these important results, and a new and valuable edition, containing the notes of the former on the text*, as also a special memoir by the latter, in regard to the authors, have been recently published. From these re-

* *Les Grandes Chroniques de France, &c. Publiées par M. P. Paris,* 6 vol., 8vo. Par. 1836—1838. The present manuscript, which forms the basis of the editor's text, is described in vol. vi., p. 491.—The Memoir of M. Lacabane is printed in vol. ii., p. 57, of the *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes,* 8vo., 1840–1.—ED.

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searches may be deduced a series of historical and palæographical propositions, which constitute the real history of the *Grandes Chroniques de France, ou de Saint-Denys.*

1. The Chronicles of Saint-Denys did not exist before the reign of Philip le Hardi; the Abbé Suger, historian of Louis le Gros, composed no work of this kind; and when the poets, romancers, or chroniclers, previous to the year 1274, mention the Latin chronicles of Saint-Denys, they allude to works of different epochs and authors, contained in the treasury or library of that abbey.—2. The *Chroniques Françaises de Saint-Denys* were compiled in the early part of the reign of Philip le Hardi, who succeeded to St. Louis in 1270.—3. Mathieu de Vendosme, Abbé of Saint-Denys, and regent of the kingdom, superintended its composition.—4. A monk of the abbey, named Primaz, was the author; he borrowed from the chronicles and the ancient Latin historians of France, such portions of each as appeared to him most worthy of faith, and he brought his compilation down to the death of Philip-Augustus, in 1223.—5. Primaz completed his work in 1274, in which year he presented it to the King, Philip le Hardi, in the presence of his superior, the Abbé de Vendosme. —6. Other monks of Saint-Denys, whose names are unknown, continued these Chronicles from 1223 down to the reign of King John, in 1340, copying from the Latin historians, who wrote during this period.—7. From 1340 to 1350 (the end of the reign of Philip de Valois), the history is original, having been written in French by a monk of Saint-Denys, previous to the year 1356.—8. The King, Charles V., caused the Chronicles to be continued by his chancellor Pierre d'Orgemont, who took up the history at the year 1350, and carried it on to 1375, or probably as far as 1380, the period of the death of Charles V.

The manuscript now under notice distinctly points out Pierre d'Orgemont as one of the supplemental authors of the Chronicles of Saint-Denys.

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This manuscript is a small folio, consisting of 545 leaves of vellum, 52 of which still remain blank. The others are written in double columns, ornamented with a great number of miniatures, heightened with gold, and most exquisitely finished. It is bound in red morocco, with the arms of France of the time of Louis XIV. on the covers; but the edges of the leaves are ornamented with golden fleurs-de-lis on an azure ground, a portion of the ancient binding, executed in 1377, as appears from the original receipt for payment of the binding, published by M. Lacabane; and this receipt informs us, that the work was then in two volumes, (as conjectured by M. P. Paris,) and that it was bound with "*les hez* (wooden boards), *et chemises**," made with "*une pièce de baudequin*," costing twenty-six francs. The payment is ordered to be made by Charles V., to whom this precious manuscript belonged, and it passed from him into the library of John Duke of Berry, and thence into that of the King, in which it bears the No. 8395.

The fac-simile will prove the perfection of the execution of this volume, so interesting for the history of France, and which is terminated by an account of the journey of the Emperor Charles IV. to Paris, in 1378. Nearly all the miniatures are inclosed within a tri-colored border, which appears to have been in great vogue among the ornaments used in the time of Charles V. The writing is a fair and regular Gothic minuscule, the small initials of which are agreeably colored. The subject of the miniature represents the funeral of Queen Blanche†, and the text explains the details of this rich artistic composition.

* Wrappers of leather or damask, attached to the boards and folded over them, having sometimes tassels at the corners. An example may be seen in MS., Egerton, 912, in the British Museum.—Ed.

† This is an error, since the funeral represented is that of Jeanne de Bourbon, Queen of Charles V. The text is in vol. vi., p. 414, of the edition of P. Paris.—Ed.

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PLATE CXCIV.

MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

END OF THE XIVTH CENTURY.

CHARTER OF CHARLES V., IN FAVOR OF THE CHURCH OF RHEIMS.

THE execution both of manuscripts and charters previous to the invention of printing, possessed so many intimate relations in common, and were carried on with such perfectly analogous means, that no surprise can be felt at finding in charters the chief graphic characters of the different kinds of manuscripts. Some manuscripts, as well as charters, for instance, are very meanly or carelessly executed; whilst other charters, equally with manuscripts, are distinguished by the beauty and perfection of all their parts. Some charters have been seen written upon the choicest vellum, by the most able calligraphers of the periods to which they belong, in golden letters, and even upon purple vellum, and ornamented with illuminated letters, and beautiful miniatures; their magnificence thus equalling that of the finest manuscripts, the expense of which was defrayed by the liberality of the personages who were parties to these charters.

In the last century no example was known of a charter written in letters of silver; and the Benedictines believed that there existed in France neither charter nor diploma written in letters of gold; documents of this kind having been met with only in the archives of foreign countries*.

Charters ornamented, however, with paintings are of less rarity in the archives of French history, and in the Plate is represented one of the finest specimens of this kind. The

* *Nouveau Traité de Diplomat.* tom. i. p. 546.—ED.

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first line and a portion of the second are written in a tall, close, angular, conjoined Gothic minuscule; with the top-strokes irregularly elongated, and some of them ornamented with figures and superfluous strokes. They contain the essential part of the protocol, and the name and titles of the prince who granted the charter. We read,—*Karolus, dei gracia Francorum Rex. Ad perpetuam rei memoriam;* and the date, expressed in the following terms at the end of the charter, *Datum Parisius, mense maio, anno dom*[*ini*] *millesimo trecentisimo octuagesimo, regni vero nostri septimo decimo,* informs us, that this charter is an act of authority by Charles V., King of France.

Born in 1337, Charles V. came to the throne on the death of his father King John, on the 8th April, 1364; he was crowned at Rheims, on the 19th May, in the same year, and died in the month of September, 1380. The present charter was granted only four months before his death, and the text is of great length*; and by it the King invests the canons of the cathedral of Rheims with the possession and lordship of certain important domains, intended to serve for the foundation of solemn masses during his life and after his decease. Charles V. always manifested a great predilection for the city of Rheims, where he was crowned; and this charter furnishes a proof of it, by the ornaments with which it is decorated.

The first letter is a gigantic Gothic K, *historiated,* and ornamented with foliated arabesques. The first stroke is formed of a regal figure, standing erect†, with two angels placing a crown on his head, the groundwork being powdered with fleurs-de-lis. At the feet of this figure, in the

* It is printed in G. Marlot, *Metropolis Remensis historia,* tom. ii. p. 660, seq. fol. Insulis, 1666.

† And holding a sealed charter in his hand.—Ed.

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open space of the letter, a bishop is represented crowning a young prince who kneels before him; whilst above is a figure of the Trinity*, bestowing a benediction on these personages. The Virgin is also represented in the upper loop of the letter, and below is a group of monks, who take part in the ceremony†. A similar scene is represented in the large capital A, at the end of the line, in which a bishop pours the holy oil on the head of a king, who is accompanied by several of his officers.

It appears evident, that one of these scenes is intended to represent the baptism of Clovis, and the other the coronation of Charles V. In this charter, therefore, the King expressly commemorates, that Clovis was baptised by the glorious St. Remi, in the church of Rheims; and that during this august ceremony, the Holy Ghost, in the form of a dove, descended from heaven, with the *ampulla* containing the holy chrism. The text of the charter contains the description of this scene; and the King adds, that like Clovis, he was also crowned and anointed with the holy oil at Rheims. It appears, nevertheless, that the artist has committed some errors in these compositions, for the first scene is a coronation, which would be that of Charles V., and the second a baptism, that of Clovis; and yet the appearance of the holy dove to Clovis forms part of the first scene, where the royal personage is evidently that of Charles V. The baptism, on the contrary, forms the subject of the second scene, and yet the followers of the King are clad in the costume of the court of Charles V. It thus appears, that the dove of Clovis has been transferred to the coronation of Charles V., and the officers of Charles V. to

* It is a figure of the Deity or Christ, surrounded by cherubim.—Ed.

† This is erroneous. The monks are kneeling to receive the charter from the large standing figure, and have no connexion with the ceremony of the coronation.—Ed.

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the baptism of Clovis*. The text† of the charter commences in these words,—*Cum vetus oriens inter se populor*[*um*] *furore collisus, indiscissam Domini tunicam & desuper-textam*, etc.

PLATE CXCV.

GOTHIC WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

PSALTER OF JOHN, DUKE OF BERRY.

THE memory of Jean de Berry, third son of King John, at first Count of Poitou, and subsequently Duke of Berry and Auvergne, has not been flattered by the annalists of France, who describe his life as a tissue of recklessness, extravagance, and injustice, with an inordinate passion for buildings, bijoux, relics, and objects of art. He ruined the state, but died poor, and left the state his heir. Sumptuous edifices at Poitiers and Bourges still remain as proofs of his taste, and in the latter city he founded a *Sainte Chapelle*, served by a Chapter, to which he united several benefices, and endowed it with lands, rebuilding at the same time the old houses which he had bought for the residence of the canons. His death, in 1416, deprived this Sainte Chapelle at

* This attempted explanation is quite unnecessary. The two scenes both relate to Charles V.; the first representing the ceremony of putting on the crown, the other, the anointing with oil; and the introduction of the holy dove alone bears reference to the legend of Clovis.—ED.

† It is written in a smaller hand than the introductory lines, and more approaching to that subsequently known under the name of *ancienne bâtarde*.—ED.

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Bourges of all these benefits. Two conflagrations ravaged it in the years 1693 and 1750, and we find by a *placet*, addressed to the King by the dignitaries of the Chapter after the latter event, that this church was then without resources, but that it had retained, up to that period, the precious ornaments bestowed on it by its founder.

We also find among the documents annexed to this *placet*, a list of the "*Livres donnés par M. le duc Jean, et délivrés à Arnoul Bélin, premier trésorier du chapitre, par Robinet d'Etampes.*" This list indicates no less than forty-three manuscript volumes, chiefly liturgical or ascetic, as well as others, the subjects of which appertain to history, science, or literature. Each work is sufficiently described to give an idea of its contents, the character in which it is written, the ornaments with which its covers were enriched, and often its origin. Thus we find a "*Bible en deux volumes; chacun a un fermoir; couvert de drap de soie appelé vaudequin; donné audit sieur duc par le pape Clement VI.*" And another note expressly states, that "*Tous ces livres furent délivrés à messieurs les trésoriers et chanoines de la Sainte Chapelle par Robinet d'Etampes, dont ils donnèrent leur récépissé, le 6e jour de juillet*, 1406."

Thus, ten years before his death, Duke John of Berry had added this new mark of liberality to all those which he had already heaped on the Sainte Chapelle of Bourges; and we must not, therefore, be surprised, that the chapel of Bourges was rich in manuscripts. An inventory, dated in 1552, shews the number to have amounted to one hundred; and in three notes, of different dates, relative to the library of this chapter, some manuscripts are mentioned in all of them.

The last of these, according to date, appears to be the list of the volumes chosen for the Bibliothèque Royale, for among them appears the magnificent Anglo-Saxon *Psalter*,

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described in these terms :—"*Les Heures du duc Jean, reliées en long; à côté du Latin il y a une colonne d'une traduction qu'on croit d'ancien Anglo-Saxon ou d'Hongrois**."

Among the prodigalities of Duke John, history has no doubt included the great expenses incurred by him in acquiring so large a number of manuscripts, or in causing them to be executed, ornamented, and bound; and we confess that we feel inclined to pardon such extravagance, when we see before us these master-pieces of calligraphy and illumination, which still attest the passionate taste, generous imprudence, and exhaustless expenditure of this prince. Who, at the present day, would lift up his voice against Louis XIV. for having planned and built Versailles?

The volume before us† is generally known under the name of the *Petit Psautier du duc de Berry*. It is certain that it belonged to this prince, as proved by the *ex libris*, written on the first leaf, and by the signature of the Duke himself on the last page of the volume. The left-hand page of the fac-simile bears the following note, in a fine Gothic handwriting, mingled with elegant capitals, very highly ornamented,—"*Ce Psaultier, qui est en Latin et en François, est à Jehan, filz de roy de France, Duc de Berry et d'Auvergne, Conte de Poitou, d'Estampes, de Bouloingne, et d'Auvergne.*" Signed "*Flamel,*" with a flourish, in which the letter N is introduced; in which fine specimen of writing we recognize the hand of the scribe Nicolas Flamel, *libraire juré* of Paris. The right-hand page of the Plate is copied from the text of the Psalter, in which the Latin version is accompanied by a French translation, both written in a close, tall, angular, conjoined Gothic minuscule, with small initial capitals of the same kind. The first verses of the text, and its translation, are to be read thus:—

* See the fac-simile from this manuscript in Plate CCXXXI.—Ed.

† Preserved in the Bibl. Royale, *Suppl. Fr.* 2015.—Ed.

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Custodi me a laqueo quem statuerunt mihi et a scandalis operancium iniquitatem.	*Garde moy du las que il m'establirent, et des blasmes des faisans felonie.*
Cadent in reciaculo ejus peccatores; singulariter sum* ego, donec transeam.	*Les pecheurs kerront en la rais; je sui tout seul, de si que je trespasse.*

The border round the page will give an idea of the richness of this manuscript; but it is necessary to have it before one, to obtain a complete idea of the perfection of the numerous miniatures with which it is enriched†. The art of the fourteenth century here shines forth in all its power in this *chef-dœuvre*. All honor and eternal thanks, therefore, to the prodigality of Duke John of Berry!

PLATE CXCVI.

MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

XIVTH AND XVTH CENTURIES.

THE GREAT HOURS OF JOHN, DUKE OF BERRY.

We have already had occasion to mention the principal events of the life of the Duke John of Berry, third son of King John, and the unfavorable judgment which history has pronounced on this prince. We have also, in the face of this

* The MM. Champollion read both the Latin and French texts here very falsely.—Ed.

† This volume is, apparently, the same with one thus entered in the inventory of the Duke of Berry's books in 1416, No. 548: "Un Psautier, escrit en latin et en françois, très richement enluminé, où il a plusieurs histoires au commencement, de la main de feu maistre André Beauneveu, couvert d'un veluyeau vermeil, à deux fermoirs d'or esmaillé aux armes de Monseigneur. Prisé 80 livres parisis."—Barrois, *Bibl. Protypographique*, p. 94.

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judgment, almost eulogised his immense prodigalities, which adorned two of the chief cities of France with sumptuous edifices, and endowed the annals of art in France with many *chefs-d'œuvre*, which we can neither estimate too highly, nor be sufficiently grateful for; and if this prince ruined himself and perhaps some of his followers, the memory of these misfortunes has passed away, whilst the inestimable monuments which were produced by them will exist for ever, to the honor and glory of France.

The sight of the magnificent manuscript before us must fill every person of taste and mind with sentiments in favor of that prince, who, by his promotion of the arts, produced such a masterpiece; the stern moralities of history become powerless before such seductions.

The highest efforts of art are, in fact, united in this volume. It is of a folio form, more tall than wide, consisting of 124 leaves of fine white vellum, forming 248 pages, in double columns, each of which is divided into twenty-three lines of writing, ruled with a plummet. Its contents are announced by a title written in a well formed, angular, and square Gothic minuscule, with the words quite distinct, and each commencing with a highly ornamented capital letter, some of which are of a gigantic size. It is as follows :—"*Ces belles et notables heures fist faire très hault et très puissant prince Jehan, fils de Roy de France, duc de Berry, et d'Auvergne, conte de Poitou, d'Estampes, de Bouloigne, et d'Auvergne. Et furent parfaittes et accomplies en l'an de grace mil quatre cens et neuf.*" This title was written by Nicolas Flamel, an admirable calligrapher, scribe, and *libraire juré* of Paris, who was employed by the Duke in different matters required in his library, particularly to write these *ex libris* on the first leaf of each of his manuscripts; a fac-simile of which has been given in the Plate, taken from the Psalter of the same prince.

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We have no reason to suppose that Nicolas Flamel had any share in the execution of these "belles et notables heures*" of Duke John; for had this been the case, he would certainly have stated it in the *ex libris*, which says nothing of the kind. He says, indeed, that the volume was executed by order of the Duke, and completed in the year 1409; but if we take into consideration the time which must have been required in the writing, the illumination, the miniatures, and even the binding in crimson velvet, with engraved clasps and bosses in the precious metals, it is evident that the manuscript must have been commenced before the end of the fourteenth, and terminated at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

The text of the volume is written in a large, angular, close, Gothic hand, taller than broad, with the top-strokes and tails very short, but very regular, and mingled with rubrics; but the writing scarcely attracts notice in the midst of the rich ornaments with which the pages are so profusely covered.

The page represented in the Plate is inclosed in a border, containing thirteen cartouches united together by arabesques of flowers and fruits, intermingled with birds, butterflies, and fanciful devices. Three other cartouches, placed above one another, separate the four columns of the page. These ovals are filled with four subjects, frequently repeated, namely, the shield of France†, semée of fleurs-de-lis; a bear erect, and holding a banner; a swan or a pelican, with the cypher VE; and the words *le temps venra*, written on a pennon. The entire motto of the prince was, *Oursine, le temps venra;* and

* The Comte de Bastard is of opinion, that this volume is the one referred to in the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Duke of Berry, drawn up in 1412, under the No. 586, and thus described:—"Très grandes, très belles et riches *Heures*, très-notablement enluminées et historiées de grandes histoires, de la main de *Jacquevrart*, de *Hodin*, et *autres ouvriers* de monseigneur."—Ed.

† Not of *France*, but of *Berry*, as shewn by the engrailed border, gules.—Ed.

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it is found entire, but expressed half figuratively and half graphically, in the cartouche at the head of the page, where the bear (*ours*) supports a standard, charged with the figure of a swan (*cygne*), accompanied by the motto.

A large miniature is drawn at the top of the first column of the text, in which St. Peter graciously receives a personage of rank, clad in a red mantle, and followed by many others, intended for Duke John himself and his chief officers. The same personage appears in the initial D of the psalm, and is often repeated in the miniatures of the manuscript, and always retains the same likeness, being the portrait of the prince, whose magnificence, thoughtless perhaps, but not at the present day to be blamed, caused this magnificent and priceless volume to be executed.

The manuscript passed from the library of Duke John to that of King Louis XII., as we learn from a note, written at the foot of the first page, "*Les Heures du feu duc de Berry, appartenant au Roy Loys XII*me.*"

PLATE CXCVII.

CURSIVE GOTHIC WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

RECEIPT OF AGNES SOREL.

Agnes Sorel enjoyed the rare privilege of being beloved alike by the King, the Queen, and the French people, advantages which no other lady of her condition could unite together; and history makes honorable mention of the amiability

* Now No. 919 (*fonds Latin*) of the Bibl. Royale.—Ed.

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of the character of Agnes, the beauty of her mind and person, and the moderation of her wishes. Something, perhaps, ought also to be attributed to the superior mind of the Queen, Marie d'Anjou, and her heroic attachment to her husband, King Charles VII., who, in order to merit the favors of his mistresses, resolved to drive the English from his kingdom. He might, indeed, have found more noble motives for such a resolution, but Agnes was to him all the world.

The father of Agnes was Jean Soreau, a gentleman of Picardy, who had one son and one daughter. The latter was the celebrated Agnes, whose favor with the King made the fortune of the family, which became extinct in the third generation after her, in Anne Soreau, who married, in 1540, Gabriel de la Guiche. Other members of the family of the same name held posts in the household of the Duchess of Orleans, in 1672.

Agnes Soreau, Sorel, or Sorelle, was loaded with gifts by the generosity of Charles VII. She possessed the seigneuries of Issoudun, in Berry, of Vernon-sur-Seine, and the château of Bois-Trousseau, not far from Bourges: she had received, in 1444, a complimentary gift of the château de Beaulté on the Marne, and in 1447 the king added the seigneurie of Roquecésiaire, in the Rouergue. It is to the latter territory that the document in the Plate refers, by which Agnes gives a receipt for a sum of money, proceeding out of its revenue. The body of the receipt is written by a notary, in a cursive Gothic hand of the period, and Agnes has signed it. It is as follows :—

Nous, Agnes Sorelle, dame de Beaulté et de Roquecésière, confessons avoir eu et reaulment receu de maistre Jehan le Tainturier, notaire et secretaire du Roy, nre s^r^. et son tresorier de Rouergue, la somme de deux cens soixante quinze livres tournois, sur ce qu'il nous puet et pourra devoir, à cause de la recepte de la revenue dudit Roquecésière. De la quelle somme de ij^c^. lxxv. l. t. sommes contente, et en quictons le dit trésorier, et voulons estre tenu quicte par tout où il appartiendra. En tes-

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moing de ce nous avons signée ceste *présente* quictance de nre seing manuel, et icelle fait escrire et signer par Pierre Dardaine, notaire royal, en la seneschaucée de Rouergue, le xviij^me^ jour d'Avril, l'an mil cccc. quarante huit.

AGNES. N. DARDAINE.

The estate Roquecésiaire was situated in the environs of Ville-Franche (Aveyron). It had been given by the King to Monseigneur de Vendôme, for life; these gifts being made out of the royal domains, and therefore divertible to the Crown. Agnes held her estates only by the same tenure. She did not, however, long enjoy that of Roquecésiaire, for she died at the commencement of 1450, at Mesnil-la-Belle, at her château, named *le Manoir*, near Jumiége, in Normandy, beloved by all the world except the Dauphin Louis, who constantly manifested his hatred of her.

The great church of this ancient abbey received the heart and viscera of the lady of Beaulté: they were enclosed in a tomb of black marble, placed in the chapel of the Assumption, and her body was carried to the choir of the church of Notre-Dame, at the château of Loches, and deposited in a marble tomb, on the top of which was represented the illustrious deceased in all her beauty; her head reposing on a cushion held by two angels, and her feet resting between two lambs. On the four borders was engraved this inscription:—

*+Cy gist noble damoyselle Agnès Seurelle, en son vivant dame de Beaulté, de Roquessesière, d'Issouldun, et de Vernon sur Seine, piteuse envers toutes gens, et qui largement donnoit de ses biens aus églyses et aus pouvres; laquelle trespassa le ix jour de fevrier, l'an de grace M.cccc. xl.ix. Priez Dieu pour l'ame d'elle. Amen**.

The inscription on the monument at Jumiége was similar

* This account is taken from ancient drawings of the tombs at Jumiége and at Loches. The year 1449 is reckoned according to the old style, which commenced the year at Easter. The tomb at Loches was restored in 1805.

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to that at Loches; and the following verses, designed as another epitaph in honor of Agnes, are attributed to Francis I.

Icy dessoubs des belles gist l'élitte,
Car de louange sa beauté plus merite,
Estant cause de France recouvrer,
Que n'est tout ce qu'en cloistre peut ouvrer
Clause nonnain, ny en désert hermite.*

PLATE CXCVIII.

GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

BOOK OF PRAYERS OF MARY STUART.

THE sad memorials of the life and death of Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II., King of France, and Queen of Scotland, are amongst the number of those most widely circulated. Such, indeed, is the peculiar privilege of the unfortunate great. The present age has been much occupied of late with Mary Stuart; and dramatic literature, romance, and history, have vied with each other in reproducing the chief circumstances of her life. A pious curiosity has also sought after and collected the authentic documents which bear witness to the life of this

* Another reading, forming a quatrain, has been given of this epitaph:—

Gentille Agnès, plus de los tu mérite,
La cause étant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloistre ouvrer,
Close nonain, ou bien dévot hermite.

The text given above is taken from an early copy.

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unfortunate princess, and a noble foreigner has collected her writings from all parts of Europe*.

The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses a manuscript which a well founded tradition affirms to have been used by the Queen of Scotland. It is a small volume, of a 12mo form, upon vellum, written in Gothic characters, containing the Christian catholic prayers in Latin. The volume is ornamented with miniatures, heightened with gold, representing various subjects of devotion, sacred history, or the lives of saints and martyrs. Each page is surrounded with a border of arabesques, mingled with garlands of flowers and fruits, and grotesque figures of men and animals, of which the two pages represented in the Plate will give a very exact idea.

The volume is bound in black velvet, worn down to the threads. The covers are ornamented in the middle with a heart's-ease flower in enamel, within a chasing of silver, surrounded by a twist, to which are attached diagonally, from one of the corners of the covers to the other, two knotted cords, with tassels at the ends.

This elegant manuscript was deposited in 1724 in the Bibliothèque Royale (No. 1405) as a souvenir of the Queen, to whom it was supposed to have belonged. This opinion is founded upon two autograph memoranda written on one of the fly-leaves at the commencement of the volume, as follows:—

First Certificate.—"Nous soussignez, supérieur, vicaire-général de l'étroite observance de l'Ordre de Cluny, certifions, que ce présent livre nous a été remis par l'ordre du défunt dom Michel Nardin, prêtre, religieux profés de notre dite observance, décédé dans notre collége de Saint-Martial d'Avignon, le 28 Mars, 1723, âgé d'environ quatre-vingts ans, dont il en a passé environ trente parmy nous, et y ayant vécu

* Prince Alexandre Labanoff has already published at Paris, in 1839, the first volume of inedited Letters of the Queen; and he is still zealously occupied in endeavouring to render the collection complete. [This first volume was only published as a specimen, and has been reprinted in the complete edition of the Queen's Letters, in 7 vols. 8vo., 1844.—Ed.]

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très-religieusement. Il étoit Allemand de nation, et avoit servi long temps avec distinction dans les troupes en qualité d'officier. Il entra à Cluny, et y fit profession; très-détaché de tous les biens et honneurs de la terre, il ne s'etoit réservé, avec la permission des supérieurs, que ce livre, qu'il sçavoit avoir été à l'usage de MARIE STUARD, Reine d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse. Avant de mourir, et se trouvant séparé de ses frères, il a demandé, que pour nous être sûrement remis, il nous fût envoyé par la poste, cacheté. Tel que nous l'avons reçu, nous avons prié Monseigneur l'Abbé Bignon, conseiller d'état, et bibliothécaire du Roi, d'agréer ce prétieux monument de la piété d'une Reine d'Angleterre, de la fidélité d'un officier Allemand, et de sa religion aussy bien que de la nôtre.

FRÈRE GÉRARD PONCET, Supérieur. vicaire-general susdit."

Second Certificate.—"Nous, Jean Paul Bignon, bibliothécaire du Roy, sommes bien aises de trouver l'occasion de marquer nostre zèle en remettant le dit manuscrit à la Bibliothèque de S.M. Fait à Paris, le 8 Juillet, 1724. J. P. BIGNON."

The date of these two memoranda is 137 years subsequent to the death of the Queen, which took place on the 18th of February, 1587, at Fotheringay Castle, demolished in 1612 by order of James I., of England, her son. The tradition, therefore, originated with the priest, Michael Nardin, who could have had no object in its invention, and he bequeathed the manuscript after his death, since which period the tradition has been preserved. The commencement of the fac-simile is to be read,—

finalis, in morte. Amen. Domine ihū xpē, fili Dei vivi, non su*m* dignus ut intres sub tectu*m* meum. Sz [*sed*] tu, Domine, qui dixisti, Qui manducat mea*m* carnem, *etc.*

The lower part of the Plate is occupied by another souvenir of the unfortunate Queen of Scotland. Another small book of Prayers, also belonging to the Bibliothèque Royale*, and which was used by Anne of Lorraine and Diane de Dammartin, the wife of her only son, is remarkable on account of

* Formerly in the La Vallière collection, No. 300. In Prince Labanoff's valuable work, tom. vii. p. 346, is described a far more interesting volume of Prayers, now in the Imperial library, Petersburgh, which belonged to the unfortunate Queen of Scots, and contains many verses in her handwritin .—ED.

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the number of verses, mottoes, cyphers, and signatures, written on its margins by their relatives and friends; among whom Mary Stuart, the aunt of Anne, wrote the following lines with her own hand, and signed them:—

Si ce lieu est pour écrire ordonné,
Ce quil vous plest avoir en sovenance,
Je vous requiers, que lieu mi soit donné,
Et que nul temps ne' n oste l'ordonance.
Royne de Frāce (*monogram* M.S.) MARIE.

PLATE CXCIX.

LARGE ANCIENT BASTARD WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

THE CHRONICLES OF JEAN FROISSART.

WE can only devote a few lines of the present notice to the author of this celebrated work, a magnificent copy of which has supplied the present fac-simile. All Europe is, indeed, acquainted with Messire Jean Froissart, who was born at Valenciennes, in 1333, and who died about the year 1400, and with the curious *Chronicles* written by him of the events of his time, of which he was often a witness, or respecting which he had consulted the chief actors in them. Amongst the later writers of the middle ages none are superior to Froissart in the essential qualities of a chronicler for veracity, exactness in his facts, accuracy, and naïveté of style.

The art of printing was at an early period applied to these Chronicles, and copies of them multiplied by the press of Antoine Verard, whose productions in Gothic characters appeared at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

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The manuscripts of Froissart were then numerous, and copies existed in Germany, England, Rome, Switzerland, the Low Countries, and the French provinces; some copies of great magnificence were possessed by the kings of France. It is from one of the latter that the fine specimen of Gothic French writing represented in the Plate has been obtained, which is taken from the *recto* of the 159th leaf of the first volume of these Chronicles, inscribed in the catalogue of French MSS. in the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 8320*.

The fac-simile will show the magnificence of this volume; its great size, fine vellum, beautiful large writing, elegant ornaments, initials, borders, and miniatures in great numbers, all combining to render this volume worthy of the first rank amongst the graphic productions of the fifteenth century. The volume contains 424 leaves, and twenty large miniatures, measuring $6\frac{2}{3}$ inches high by $7\frac{2}{3}$ wide, and twenty-eight smaller miniatures, three inches less than the preceding in width and height.

At the beginning of the volume is this note, written on a fly-leaf,—"*Bloys. Des histoires et livres en françoys. pult°.* (shelf) 4°. *contre la muraille de devers la cort;*" whence we learn, that this and the three other volumes, which complete this copy of the Chronicles, (with its continuation,) and which are similarly inscribed, formed part of the library formed at the château of Blois by Charles of Orleans, and augmented by his son, King Louis XII. But another indication, more conclusive, carries us further back than the period of Louis XII. At the foot of the first page of the volume are the arms of France, designedly painted over a more ancient

* A series of miniatures from these volumes in the Bibliothèque du Roi is given by H. N. Humphreys, in his *Illuminated Illustrations of Froissart*, 4to, 1844–45, but the execution of his Plates does not do justice to the manuscript. Two volumes of another splendid copy of the same work, executed probably for the celebrated chancellor Philip de Comines, are preserved in the British Museum, MSS. Harl., 4379, 4380.—Ed.

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shield, the bearings on which are nevertheless visible, when held up towards the light; and this half-effaced shield exhibits the arms of Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, who died in 1492, and whose love for literature and the arts led him to form a library, which, after that of the Dukes of Burgundy, was the finest and most numerous of any in Flanders. This nobleman caused most of the manuscripts which he possessed to be executed for him at Bruges and Ghent, by the most able scribes and illuminators of the period, and they are distinguished by the luxury of the miniatures, and the richness of the bindings.

M. Van Praet has piously honored the memory of the Seigneur de la Gruthuyse, his compatriot, by publishing the catalogue of the manuscripts of his inestimable library*, which subsequently passed into the possession of Jean de Bruges, his son, and afterwards to Louis XII., who added them to his library at Blois; but by what right, or at what period he acquired them, remains unknown. The Froissart before us doubtless formed part of this collection, being then bound in velvet, and ornamented with corners, bosses, and clasps of gilt copper. It was rebound since the last century in red morocco, with the arms of France on the covers.

The rubric placed above the miniature in the Plate thus indicates its subject—"*Comment Mess*[*ir*]*e Godefroy de Harecourt co*[*m*]*batit ce*[*u*]*lx d'Amye*[*n*]*s deva*[*n*]*t Paris.*" This rubric, as well as the text itself, is written in a large bastard Gothic letter, thick, angular, and properly spaced, with the words semi-distinct, and punctuated at the end of the paragraphs and their chief divisions, a vertical stroke of the height of the letter taking the place of the comma. We have here, in fact, the writing of the latter half of the fifteenth century, with as much good taste as belonged to that period.

* In his *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse*, 8vo., Paris, 1831.—Ed.

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PLATE CC.

GOTHIC FRENCH WRITING.

END OF THE XVTH CENTURY.

THE VIGILS OF KING CHARLES VII., BY MARTIAL OF PARIS.

In thus naming the author of the long poetical work from which the accompanying fac-simile has been made, the declaration of the writer himself, at the end of this volume, has been adopted, which states, that the work "*a été achevé à Chailliau, pres Paris, la vigille Saint Michel, mil quatre cens quatre vingt quatre,*" after which date are these words, "*Escusez l'acteur qui est nouveau, Martial de Paris.*"

The writers of the literary history of France have been singularly at variance, as to the country of the poet Martial, some stating it to have been Auvergne, others Limousin, whilst M. de Lamonoye believed him to have been born at Paris, where he held the office of *Procureur au Parlement* about the year 1480, and died in 1508. He was the author of many singular productions, both in prose and verse, the longest and most important of which is that which is the subject of the present notice, and on which rests the reputation of the writer. From the historical character of this composition, its title is the more remarkable. The *Vigils* of the death of a person indicate the psalmody and lessons composing the office of the dead, whereas this work of Martial consists of the history of King Charles VII., his misfortunes, glorious exploits, and the principal events of his reign. The nine psalms are replaced by historical narratives, and the lessons by lamentations on the King's death; his virtues are celebrated, and the work contains no less than between 6000

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and 7000 verses of different measures. It has often been printed.

The work indeed merits this honor, since it intitles its author to claim a place among the best writers of his age, and perhaps to be considered their superior. His minor verses are full of charms, spirit, and taste.

Mieux vaut liesse,
l'accueil et l'adresse,
l'amour et simplesse,
des bergiers pasteurs,
qu'avoir à largesse
or, argent, richesse,
ne la gentillesse
de ces grandes seigneurs;
car ils ont douleurs,
et des maux greigneurs;
mais pour nos labeurs
nous avons sans cesse,
les beaulx prés et fleurs,
fruitaiges, odeurs,
et joye à nos cueurs,
sans mal qui nous blesse.

The manuscript before us also bears the proof of its authenticity, which especially recommends the text. At the end is seen an admirable miniature, heightened with gold, representing King Charles VIII. seated on a throne covered with fleurs-de-lis, and surrounded by his principal officers, whilst Martial de Paris, kneeling at the foot of the throne, offers to the King his work, which forms a thick volume, richly bound, and ornamented with double clasps. Now, as the manuscript is dated in 1484, and the author did not die till 1508, it is not to be doubted, that this volume, if not in his own handwriting, (which the regularity of the text renders doubtful,) was executed under his own immediate superintendence.

The writing is extremely regular, large, massive, angular, wide, and conjoined, but without abbreviations, and ornamented with small capital letters in gold and colors. It presents a specimen of the fine Gothic character of the close of the fifteenth century, and from the rich decoration of the manuscript, there is every reason to believe that it was executed for Charles VIII. It contains no less than 192 miniatures, very beautifully executed, and correctly drawn

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for the state of art at that period. The miniature in the fac-simile is the 81st in the volume, at folio 126 *verso*, and its subject is the marriage of Margaret of Anjou, daughter of King René of Sicily, Count of Provence, with King Henry VI. of England. These nuptials were celebrated in November, 1444, after the conclusion of the temporary truce between France and England, which gave to France a season of feasts, jousts, and tournaments, and to England a Queen, justly celebrated in history for her capacity to manage the public affairs of that kingdom. The subject of the miniature is described in these four verses:—

Et alors le roy de Cecille,
Affin tousjours de la paix querre,
Fiança et donna sa fille
Au feu roy Henry d'Angleterre.

PLATE CCI.

MODERN GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

POEMS OF FRANCIS I. AND QUEEN MARGARET OF NAVARRE.

THE present fac-simile affords us the opportunity (in addition to its palæographical merits) of introducing the name of an illustrious prince, who has been styled the father of literature, which he cultivated, not without success, in order to encourage others by his noble example.

Many manuscripts exist, containing the poems of Francis I. and of his sister Margaret, Duchess of Alençon and Queen of Navarre; but the extent of the present volume has been enlarged (for the number of the poems of these royal poets is not considerable) by the addition of the prose com-

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positions of the same personages, as well as by various pieces composed by other hands, but which relate to the King, to his mother, Louise of Savoy, or to his sister, the Queen. The poem, which is partly copied in the Plate, is among these supplemental additions. It is intitled *Epistre*, and it will be easily perceived that it is addressed to the King, and each couplet repeats the expression of the deepest regret occasioned by his absence:—

Las! si le cueur de ceulx qui ont puissance
De vous donner très briefve delivrance,
Pouvoyent scavoir quelle est nostre amytie,
Je croy pour vray qu'il en auroit pitie,
Et que si tost ne vous veullent remectre
En ce royaulme, où vous estes le maistre.

(*lines* 19—24.)

These lines, moreover, indicate that the King was at the time a prisoner, far from his kingdom, since his "tres briefve delivrance" depended upon a will, invoked doubtless with too much confidence, by the author of this *Epistre*. The poems, therefore, collected in the present volume, may be considered as having been composed after the misfortunes of the King before Pavia, in 1525; and this is the opinion of the learned persons to whom this volume has belonged, especially Baluze, in whose library it bore the No. 370.

In one of his songs the King exclaims,—

Libre en prison je suis et ay esté,
De dur yver j'ai faict plaisant esté,
Tant, que vertu a la peure degecté,
Comme ennemie.

In another lively and graceful song, in verses of eight syllables, addressed to the lady of his heart, the King alludes thus to his liberty, of which he is deprived:—

A dire mon affection,
Ne suffist l'escripture,
Car pleine el' est de passion,
Par quoy le temps luy dure,
Ne pouvant recouvrer le bien,
Qui tous les aultres passe,
Mais espérance est son soustien,
Estant seur de la grace.

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The fine manuscript from which the fac-simile is copied is a small folio, containing 85 leaves of very white vellum, distributed in quaternions, numbered in the lower margin from A to L: wide margins are throughout preserved by two vertical lines ruled with a plummet, and twenty-eight transverse lines mark the extent of the text on each page. Blank spaces are often left for the titles of the poems, and these titles are written in a large hand, sometimes occupying several lines, and always in red. Opposite to these titles the scribe has often written on the margin the words *Le Roy*, to indicate that the King was the author. The correctness of these indications cannot here be discussed, nor any details given of the various persons whose works are here collected together. It is sufficient to state, that the volume is written throughout by one hand, in an elegant modern Gothic minuscule, thick, broad, and well proportioned, not too angular, with the words and letters distinct, and ornamented with neat capital letters; the initials of the *alineæ*, or couplets, being of gold on a colored ground, or of color on a gold ground. This precious manuscript of the sixteenth century belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris (No. 7688).

PLATE CCII.

ANCIENT BASTARD WRITING.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE XVITH CENTURY.

CHRONICLES OF ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

Enguerrand de Monstrelet, esquire, provost of Cambray, bailli of Wallaincourt, was, according to the writers of his time, "un bien honneste homs, et paisible, et croniqua les

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guerres de France, d'Artois, de Picardie, et d'Engleterre, et de Flandres, et de ceux de Gand contre Mons. le Duc Philippe, et trespassa 15 ou 16 jours avant la fin de Juillet, l'an 1453."

These Chronicles of Monstrelet, notwithstanding their modest title, contain a good history of the affairs of France and the adjacent countries, commencing at Easter, 1400 (where those of Froissart terminate), and coming down to the death of the Duke of Burgundy, in 1467. It is, however, known, that the original work of Monstrelet extended only to 1444, the remainder being added by his continuators. It is from one of the finest known copies of these Chronicles of Monstrelet that the accompanying fac-simile has been made.

This magnificent copy, in three folio volumes, belongs now to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and was bought at the sale of the Duke de la Vallière, in 1784, at the price of 2700 livres*. It is written on vellum, in long lines across the page, and in the style called by diplomatic writers *ancienne bâtarde*. It is, moreover, ornamented with very beautiful initial letters in colors and gold, and with rich miniatures of different sizes, seventy-four in number, executed with the pen in bistre, heightened with gold. A coat-of-arms is seen in the border of the miniature, belonging to the family of Rochechouart.

This manuscript was, in fact, executed for a personage of this family, named François, as appears from the following note, written at the end of the third volume, in which is also given the name of the scribe, and the precise date of the manuscript:—

"*Cy finist le tiers volume d'Anguerren de Monstrelet, des Cronicques de France, d'Angleterre, de Bourgogne, et autres pays . . . escriptes par moy, Anthoine Bardin, serviteur de monseigneur messire Françoys de Rochechouart, chevalier, . . .*

* About 110*l.* English. It was No. 5056 of the La Vallière Catalogue.—Ed.

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gouverneur et lieutenant-général à Gennes pour le Roy Loys dousiesme de ce nom. . . . Et fut achevé au palays dudit lieu de Gennes, la vigille de nostre Dame d'Aoust, l'an mil cinq cens et dix."

The name of the artist who executed the miniatures is unknown, but the composition of the one introduced into the Plate is rich in details. In it is represented the French army, which, after the raising of the siege of Orléans, in 1429, and the occupation of the town of Jargeaux, gave battle to the English on the 18th June, at Patai, a village of la Beauce, not far from the Loire. It was in this engagement that Lord Talbot was made prisoner. The Connétable de Richmond, the Maréchal de Boussac, La Hire, and Poton were in the advanced guard of the French army; and the Duke d'Alençon, the Bastard of Orléans, and the Maréchal de Roye, were leaders of the battle, . . . "et tousjours Jehanne (d'Arc) au front devant atout, (*avec*) son estandart. . . . Les nobles Françoys desconfirent les Anglois." (*Monstrelet.*) This is the subject of the miniature. The standard and oriflamme of France and England mark the positions of the opposing forces. The English are represented as abandoning the field of battle: one of them, the intrepid Talbot, turns upon the French; but his heavy charger having been wounded, he is thrown down, and taken prisoner by Poton de Xaintrailles, who gave him his liberty without ransom, and thus prepared the way by this generous conduct for a reciprocal feeling worthy of these two illustrious chevaliers. La Hire and the other officers of the King are present at this happy termination of the battle of Patai*.

In the foreground a warrior on horseback, of a shorter stature than the rest, attracts our notice. This is Jeanne

* If reference is made to the letters patent of Louis XI. (1472) in favor of the house of Fumel, in Agenais, the honor of having taken Talbot prisoner may be disputed by Tandonnet de Fumel against Poton de Xaintrailles.

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d'Arc, armed from head to foot, and mounted on a spirited courser; the heroine of France, whose glory has been renewed by the statue recently executed by the skilful hand of a princess alike dear to France and worthy of the most grateful souvenirs and the bitterest regrets*.

The text which accompanies this drawing does not expressly refer to the subject of the capture of Talbot, but to one of the circumstances which preceded it. We there read:—

" . . . environ troys cens combatans Anglois, desquelz fut l'ung d'iceulx des frères du Conte de Suffort (*Suffolk*), lequel conte avecques luy son autre frère, le Seigneur de la Poulle (*Pole*), furent faictz prisonniers, et de leurs autres gens jusques à soixante hommes ou audessus. Ainsi doncques ceste ville et chasteau de Jargueaulx conquise et subjuguée, comme dit est, les d*its* Françoys se raffreschirent dedans icelle tout à leur aise. Et après, eulx partans de là, allerent à Meung, qui tantost leur fist obeissance; et d'autre part fuyrent les Angloys, qui tenoient la Ferté Hubert; et se bouterent tous ensemble à Bois-Gensy, jusques auquel lieu ilz furent chassez et poursuyvis des Franç*ois*."

This specimen is copied from the *verso* of the 83rd leaf of the second volume of the manuscript Chronicle, chapter 58. This chapter is the 61st of the second book in the printed editions of Monstrelet, and in this respect the manuscript copies differ materially from the printed work.

The Plate, therefore, represents a fine specimen of the writing called *ancient bastard*, or *ancient cursive bastard*, which was common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and known also under the name of *cursive Gothic*. By the learned it is derived from the "*lettres de forme*," generally written very large, but occasionally in a small and expeditious style.

* Allusion is here made to the Princess Marie of France (second daughter of King Louis Philippe), Duchess of Wurtemberg, who died in 1839, by whom was executed the beautiful full-length statue of Joan of Arc in white marble, now placed in one of the galleries at Versailles.—Ed.

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PLATE CCIII.

IMITATIVE UNCIAL AND MINUSCULE WRITING.

XVIth CENTURY.

EVANGELIARIUM USED AT THE CORONATION OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE.

THE title of this manuscript, "*Selectæ lectiones ad usum archi-monasterii S. Remigii Remensis pro festis solemnioribus,*" sufficiently indicates that it is a selection of the Gospel Lessons for the principal festivals in the year, for the use of the arch-monastery of Saint Remi, at Rheims. This title is, however, modern, as well as the services written upon the six following leaves. The antique appearance of the manuscript commences on the next leaf, and the text begins with the Epistle of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, in the hand which is employed throughout the remainder of the volume.

The gatherings of the leaves (which are about twenty in number) are arranged in quaternions, and the writing extends across the page, the lines being indicated by punctures in the margin; but there is no trace of the lines having been ruled. Each page of text is enclosed within a space marked by lines drawn with a hard point, which are doubled at the top and bottom. The text is in a writing similar to the specimen given in the Plate; majuscule letters frequently occur at the commencement of the chapters and principal divisions, and these capitals are either uncials or Roman, and are always written outside of the perpendicular line of the text.

The figures of the four Evangelists are found in the same number of miniatures in different parts of the volume. The sacred scribes are represented sitting upon chairs of Byzantine

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form, highly ornamented, and covered with a mass of drapery, gracefully arranged in close folds; the colors of the dresses of the Evangelists are in their general effect agreeable and soft, without any violent reds or blues, and destitute of that intensity of coloring so strongly prevalent in the paintings of the first centuries of the middle ages; so that the art of the painter and the harmonious softness of his colors form a striking contrast to the rudeness of the design of the figures. We are thence led to believe this portion of the work to be nothing else than an attempt to imitate a type of the eighth century, with the drapery and coloring of the sixteenth.

With such a suspicion, the text is submitted to a more careful investigation; and here the efforts of imitation appear still more manifest.

The two initial letters of the Gospel Lessons represented in the Plate are two I's, the dilated and pearled form of which is scarcely perceived, the attention being chiefly attracted to the two fleurs-de-lis attached to the ends of the letter. Now the first words of these lessons (IN ILLO TEMPORE) are written in Roman uncial letters of the eighth or ninth century, and to find fleurs-de-lis in honor at so distant a period, would be quite a new fact in connexion with the history of the insignia of France; but there are other fleurs-de-lis introduced as ornaments in this volume, which are not elongated like those in the Plate, but as gracefully delineated and as well proportioned as those of the time of Louis XIV. This cannot, therefore, be a work of the eighth or ninth century, since this *symbol* did not then exist; and we are hence furnished with another proof, together with that derived from the draperies of the evangelists, that the work is of the sixteenth century*. A careful examination of the text leads us also to the conclusion, that the same uncial

* In the Plate it is marked, by error of the engraver, of the ninth century.—ED.

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writing in this volume is only an imitation executed at the same period.

We here evidently perceive a mixture of capital letters, uncials and minuscules, which presumes the habitual practice of each; but such a mélange never occurs in authentic and original manuscripts. Moreover, the scribe of the manuscript in the sixteenth century (who was, doubtless, an excellent imitator of the writing of ancient times, and has very well succeeded in his attempt to fabricate an ancient text) has often forgotten his task, and made occasional mistakes. Thus, among his *uncial* capitals he has introduced the *Roman* letters S, D, V, and the conjoined minuscules *ſt*, and *ſi*; the open *a* in the place of the ordinary *a*; the *m* with the strokes straight; all the top-strokes short, and truncated horizontally, as well as the tails; *&* introduced imitatively for *et*, in the middle of words; the words often undivided, but sometimes apart; *ra* always conjoined; and the *g* as neatly formed as in the best printed types. The influence of the forms used in the typography of the sixteenth century is readily to be recognised throughout this manuscript. It belongs to the Communal library of Rheims, and is said to have been used at the coronations of the kings of France in that city. Such a dignified destination may, perhaps, explain the singular and laborious attempt of the scribe who executed this curious volume. He has written at the end DFP GRBTKBS, for DEO GRATIAS, in which words the vowels are replaced by the consonants nearest to them. The word AMHN, in Greek characters, terminates the volume.

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PLATE CCIV.

MODERN ROMAN AND ITALIC WRITING.

XVIIITH CENTURY.

PSALTER AND OFFICES, WRITTEN BY NICOLAS JARRY.

THE period to which the two works represented in this Plate belong, would exclude them from a collection intended for the study of palæography, that is, of writing in ancient times, if the history of the art did not require, in order to complete it, that modern times should also furnish their share in the general assemblage of specimens. Since the invention of printing by moveable types, about the year 1450, the art of writing and the scribes have lost in a great measure their social importance; but in each succeeding century efforts have been made (in France, at least), both by men of taste and of authority, to bring the writing generally in use to a state of perfection. In this respect printing itself has exercised a powerful influence. Discovered at Mentz, at a period when Gothic writing prevailed throughout Europe, it employed at first the semi-Gothic characters; transplanted to Italy, it conformed to the purer taste which had sprung up in that learned country, where the Roman writing had already been renovated; and, lastly, imported into France, typography there produced also its earliest works in Roman characters. A few years afterwards, however, a reaction took place in favor of the Gothic, and in 1520 terms could scarcely be found strong enough in praise of its elegance; the Roman characters were only timidly retained by certain typographers, although Josse Bade* resolutely adhered to them. But soon afterwards the

* Better known under his Latin name of Jodocus Badius Ascensius. He died in 1535.—ED.

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celebrated and learned printers Simon de Colines, Robert Estienne, and Michel Vascosan, reintroduced the fine Roman characters, and, owing to their zeal and perseverance, the Gothic gradually disappeared, and made its last appearance at Paris in a little Latin volume printed by Kerver, in 1574.

Cursive writing did not remain a stranger to these changes; the Roman had already driven away the Gothic from monumental inscriptions, printed works, seals, and coins. Ordinary writing was not, however, so exclusive in its usage, but the Roman characters were introduced into it at the end of the sixteenth century, and produced insensibly a reform, and at length became general in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Benedictines, in tracing, with evident satisfaction, the history of this progress, make some remarks, which may almost be regarded as a prophecy; they regret that the Gothic should still retain so large a place in the reformed writing, which they would have entirely rid of that leprosy (*de cette lepre*), and then add these words, "heureux même, si nous ne voyons pas un jour les restes du Gothique reprendre le dessus, et causer une revolution, dont nous croyons apercevoir le prélude*," as though the Benedictines had actually foreseen the depraved taste which is had in so much honor in our own times.

Of this, each period in these latter centuries has produced examples; the round Roman writing (or *financiere*), which was only a modified Gothic, did not cease to be employed in public documents, although more difficult both to write and read than the Roman; it was also adopted in printing, and a royal privilege proected this style, which was ludicrously termed "*lettre Françoise d'art de main.*" The Roman character, nevertheless, did not cease to enlarge its progress; it was exclusively employed on the public monuments, and skilful persons endeavoured to bring its letters to perfection, by an increased elegance of form and correctness of proportion.

* *Nouv. Traité de Dipl.*, tom. ii., p. 534.

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Nicolas Jarry is the most celebrated of all the writers who produced the finest specimens of this art. Born at Paris in 1620, he made himself known by his productions in the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., and died about the year 1673. It was in 1641, in the time of the former monarch, that Jarry executed his *chef-d'œuvre*, intitled *La Guirlande de Julie*, a folio volume of thirty leaves, which was sold in 1783 for 14,510 livres*. It is to the same period, which must be considered as being that of the highest excellence of this master, that the first fac-simile in the Plate belongs. It is taken from a book intitled "*Le Psautier de Jesus, contenant de très dévotes prières et pétitions, faict à Paris*, 1641 . . . . *par le commandement de Madame de Loraine.*" It is a small volume, in 8vo., written upon vellum, and ornamented with fifteen miniatures, covered by a figured binding. On the *verso* of the fifty-fourth leaf is a note in cursive letters, *N. Jarry scripsit, anno* 1640. The text is written in small ordinary Roman, and in small Italic-Roman characters. The miniature represents Madame de Lorraine at her devotions.

Jarry also was employed by Louis XIV., and executed many works for this monarch, from whom he received the brevet of *maître écrivain;* but the manuscript from which the second fac-simile in the Plate is copied, shews also that he wrote music for the King. It is intitled "*Les sept offices pour le semaine, à Paris; écrit par N. Jarry, écrivain et notteur de la musique du Roi*, M.DC.LXIII." It is an 18mo. volume, on vellum. Both these manuscripts belong to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris†.

* About 580*l.* It was No. 3247 of the La Vallière collection, and was originally executed for the Duke de Montausier, as a present to the Marquise de Rambouillet. The Abbé Rive has written an extended notice of this volume.—Ed.

† The former is marked No. 2299 *bis* (*Suppl. Fr.*), and the latter, No. 710. (*Suppl. Lat.*)--Ed.

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PLATE CCV.

MODERN ROMAN WRITING.

XVIIIth CENTURY.

EPISTLES FOR THE FESTIVALS OF THE YEAR, FOR THE USE OF THE CHAPEL AT VERSAILLES.

THE recollection of the royal magnificence of Versailles is not yet entirely effaced from the memory of some of our contemporaries, and an august hand has rendered these souvenirs eternal, by depositing in this palace the authentic documents of all the national glories of France.

The manuscript from which the present specimen of Roman writing is taken, is one of the evidences still existing of this magnificence. The chapel of Versailles still remains; architecture and painting contributed to render it worthy of the edifice to which it was attached; and everything connected with the ceremonies of religion accorded with the majesty of the place. The books of the choir, the missals, epistolaries, and evangeliaries, were expressly written for the service of this chapel, and an admirable model excited the zeal of the artists, for the manuscript Hours of the King, written and ornamented with an unequalled luxury*, remained open upon his foot-stool.

The liturgical library of Versailles was not completed during the reign of Louis XIV.; but the *Antiphonaries* of this period are known to exist,—manuscript volumes of the largest size, bound in calf, with corners and clasps of copper, written upon vellum in large notes and letters, with initial letters of gold, upon a groundwork ornamented with figures and landscapes in miniature.

* A specimen is given by Humphreys in his *Illuminated Books*, etc.; but he states it to be inferior, in point of art, to the large folio Lectionary at Rouen.—ED.

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To the time of Louis XV. belong the Epistolary and Evangeliary (or Lessons from the Epistles and Gospels), two volumes in folio, the size of which is shewn in the Plate, written upon vellum with extraordinary perfection, each page being surrounded with a bronzed or golden border, composed of a garland of oak-leaves, between two bands of gold alternately bright and deadened; the initials are of large size, and with the titles, of smaller dimensions, are written in burnished gold. The two volumes are bound in green morocco, without any royal or ecclesiastical ornaments. The Epistolary, from which the fac-simile is taken, is enriched, moreover, with a great number of miniatures in body-colors; the drawing, coloring, and style of which fill us with admiration, uniting, as they do, all the rare perfections of this kind of painting.

Although almost unknown, this volume is one of the most useful subjects of study either to the man of taste or the professed artist. The volume commences with the following title, inclosed within a rich border, *Epistolæ ad usum capellæ regiæ Versaliensis*, written in very beautiful Roman majuscule letters in gold; the remainder of the page being occupied with a vignette, representing two genii supporting within a glory the shield of France, surrounded with laurels and lilies, intermingled with garlands of roses, beneath which is read, inscribed upon a girandole, *Anno Domini* MDCCLXVII. Baudouin. Opposite to this frontispiece is an allegorical and religious composition, which occupies the entire page. On the following leaf is a drawing of the width of the page, but only one-third of its height, a beautiful initial on a miniature; and then, on the next leaf, another initial and two magnificent tail-pieces; the verso of the third leaf is entirely occupied by another large drawing in body-colors, representing the birth of the Saviour. Altogether, the volume contains four large paintings of the entire size of the page; eighteen miniatures, at the top of the same number of pages; twenty-one tail-

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pieces, the majority of which fill more than half of the page; twelve vignettes, at the bottom of the same number of pages; and twenty-nine initial letters of gold, with miniature backgrounds.

The author of these beautiful works may, perhaps, in a Christian spirit have sacrificed his fame to his modesty, by concealing his name; but at the bottom of the first large drawing, representing the birth of the Saviour, upon a narrow ribbon of bright gold in the border, are read two inscriptions in dead gold; on the right, LES ENCRES D'OR DU FRÈRE HYPOLITE R. S. MARTIN; and on the left, E. F. H. MERCIER.

The name of the inventor of the beautiful golden inks used in this volume with great success and skill, is mentioned in the first of these inscriptions; but the name of *Mercier* may either be that of the artist or of the scribe of the volume. The former opinion seems most probable; but more diligent researches into the history of the arts in France may decide the question, and restore to its due place the name of one of the most successful painters in body-colors of the last century.

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§ III. WRITINGS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

PLATE CCVI.

MINUSCULE ROMANO-VISIGOTHIC WRITING.

XTH CENTURY.

PRAISES OF THE VIRGIN MARY, BY ILDEFONSUS, BISHOP OF TOLEDO.

THERE are but few manuscripts which can furnish so many useful and certain indications for the study of palæography as the volume which has supplied the present fac-simile. The history of the volume is fully written on its first leaves; and the place where, and the period when it was executed, are clearly stated by the scribe himself, who has added his name.

The volume is a small quarto, consisting of twelve quaternions (192 pages), of strong vellum, very white on the inner side and yellow on the outer, and well preserved. On the *recto* of each page are sixteen lines ruled with a hard point, for so many lines of writing; rows of punctures on the right margin have directed the scribe where the lines were to be drawn, which are enclosed within two perpendicular strokes, parallel with the lateral margins from the top to the bottom of the page. At the foot of the last page of each quaternion, near the middle, are written one or two catch-words, which are the first on the following page. This manuscript formed part of the library of Colbert, and was bound with another work of the same size, containing a work of Paschasius, and ornamented on the exterior with the arms of that celebrated

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minister. This arrangement, although inconvenient, was retained when the volume was received into the Bibliothèque Royale, in which it bears the No. 2855 (*fonds Latin*), and No. 3682 of Colbert's collection*.

It is from the second work contained in this volume that the fac-simile is taken. It was composed by Ildefonsus, Bishop of Toledo, in honor of the Virgin, against Jovinianus, Helvidius, and the Jews; and the present copy of this pious treatise was transcribed by the priest Gomes, a native of the environs of Pampeluna. He states himself in a prologue, that having journeyed with a party of two hundred monks from Aquitaine into Spain, accompanied by the Bishop Godescalc, and having arrived at the frontiers of Galicia, the Bishop desired him to copy the treatise of Ildefonsus, in order that he might introduce it into his diocese, to the great advantage of the faith, as the author himself had given it to the entire Christian Church. The writer terminates his prologue in these words: "*Transtulit enim hunc libellum sanctissimus* (this word is erased) *Gotiscalcus episcopus ex Spania ad Aquitaniam, tempore iemis, diebus certis Januarii videlicet mensis, currente feliciter era d.cccc.lxxxviiii a.*" After which, in smaller characters, we read, "*Ipsis igitur diebus obiit Galleciensis rex Rammirus.*" From these data we learn, that the manuscript was completed in A.D. 989, according to the Spanish era, at the period when Bishop Godescalc went into Aquitaine. The date of the year, 989, is written in the Roman cyphers of Spain, and it refers to the *era of Spain* properly so called, the commencement of which extends back thirty-eight years further than that of the Christian epoch. It must be admitted that the marks which follow the numerals *dcccc* are not very clearly expressed, although their forms are precise: nevertheless, as the

* It formerly belonged to Constantine Cajetan, who printed from it the prologue of Gomes. See the *SS. trium episcoporum relig. Benedict. luminum Vitæ*, p. 141, 4to., Rom. 1616.—Ed.

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first of these signs is figured in the table of the Benedictines as having the value of fifty, the signs following, and linked together, which are placed between L and the cyphers VIIII (*nine*), can only be intended for XXX (*thirty*), which will give the total number 989, corresponding, according to the era of Spain, with the year 951 of the Christian era.

That the determination of this date is exact, is proved by two synchronisms contained in the prologue of the scribe Gomes, of which the death of King Ramires is the most precise, that event having taken place in 950. The Bishop Godescalc, who caused the manuscript to be written, governed the diocese of Puy-en-Velai from 937 to 962, and consequently in 951, which is the date to be attributed to the manuscript. Executed in Galicia, in the middle of the tenth century, this manuscript could only be written in the Visigothic characters, and it is, in fact, one of the richest and most beautiful specimens of that style which can be found.

The top lines of the fac-simile contain the invocation and the title of the work,—IN $\overline{\text{NNE}}$ [*nomine*] $\overline{\text{DNI}}$ INCIPIT OPUSCULUM PREFATIONIS, *etc.*, written in tall, narrow, close, conjoined letters, occasionally introduced within each other, and truncated; the A without a cross-bar, and some of the strokes elongated greatly above the level of the line, with some superfluous strokes at the base. This title, like all the rest, is in alternate lines of red and black.

The initial D is ornamented with ribbon-work in the open part of the upright stroke, and the curved part has interlacings at each end, and in the centre.

The text of the manuscript is written in a Latin Visigothic minuscule, large, elegant, and wide, with the words distinct and punctuated; especially characterised by the forms of the letters *a, t, e, r, d, g;* the top-strokes being clavate, obliquely truncated, and the small capitals approaching to uncials. As a further proof of the origin of this manuscript, it may be

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remarked, that the Aquitaine scribe has written *suabitatem, probitatem, vervi, b* for *v*, and *v* for *b*; a practice still in use in the writer's native province.

PLATE CCVII.

DIPLOMATIC WRITING OF SPAIN.

XITH AND XIITH CENTURIES.

ROYAL CHARTERS OF KING ALFONSO VI. AND QUEEN URRAKA.

THE observations which have been made upon the capital and minuscule Visigothic writings of Spain, are equally applicable to the minuscule and cursive writing of the charters. The Visigothic is only the Roman writing, modified slightly in some of the letters according to the national taste, and sanctioned by general use. The writing thus constituted is that to which the title of *Toledan*, or *letters of Toledo*, is applied, of which the accompanying Plate contains various specimens as used in diplomas.

This kind of writing has had three states or epochs. At first, and from the earliest times, the Visigothic minuscule and cursive letters were used in it; from the twelfth century the French minuscule was employed; and from the fourteenth century the Gothic minuscule and cursive letters. Some fine specimens are here given of the first two states; but as to the third, the deformed Gothic, since it is found at the same period triumphant throughout Europe, it has not been thought necessary to present its Spanish type, which resembles the rest in ugliness.

The specimen No. 1 is a charter of Alfonso VI., whose name occurs in the fifth line,—*Ego A*[*l*]*defonsus, gra* [*gratia*]

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dī [*Dei*] *rex Leonum, licet indignus dī fam*[*u*]*l*[*u*]*s, mole peccator*[*um*] *depressus*, etc. The last line of the same specimen contains the subscription of the King, in these terms,—*Ego Aldefonsus rex, uhic* [*huic?*] *serie testamenti signu*[*m*] *injexi, et propria manu mea roboravi;* beneath which is a flourish of the scribe. The charter contains a donation made by King Alfonso VI. to the abbey of Cluny, and is terminated by the date 1115 of the era of Spain, which corresponds with 1077 of the Christian era.

In this charter the Visigothic or Toledan minuscule writing is exclusively employed. It is round, wide, divided both in the words and letters, obliquely truncated in the elongated top-strokes, the tails terminated in acute points; the *r* always extending below the line, *ſ* sometimes used; *a* like *u; e* taller than the other letters, and its cross-stroke uniting with the letter following; *t* nearly resembling *a;* and with numerous abbreviations. None of the features of the most elegant Visigothic minuscule are wanting in this specimen, which is distinguished by its elegance and perfect regularity.

By the Council of Leon, held in 1091, it was decreed, that from thenceforth the French characters should be used, and the Visigothic or Toledan letters laid aside. King Alfonso VI. was himself anxious to introduce the use of French writing into the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, although its use was not always adopted by him.

The charters of Spain at this period are, however, distinguished from those of other countries by their barbarous style, and the first sign in the present charter is intended for the monogram of Christ, XPS or PXPS, [*per Christum,*] being the *implied* invocation. This is followed by the *formal* invocation, occupying four lines and a half, which is distinguished, as in other charters of the same King, by its emphatic introduction of cherubim and seraphim, angels and archangels,

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thrones and dominions, principalities and powers, the four-and-twenty elders, and the murmuring of the waves, which lift up their voices in praise of the Eternal (*et murmur undarum sua voce conlaudant*,—line 4). This poetic flight is not the ordinary style of charters and notaries; but the same monarch was sometimes even more figurative than this in the private acts of his administration.

The specimen of writing No. 2 is of the reign of the daughter of Alfonso VI., Queen Urraka, who succeeded him in the year 1109. In this charter, which is dated in 1158 of the era of Spain, (1120 of the Christian era,) this princess takes the title of Queen of Spain, in imitation of her royal father, who styled himself "*tocyus Ispaniæ imperator*." The Queen confirms by this act, which she calls *carta stabilitatis sive testamentum firmitatis*, the donation to Cluny of the church of St. Nicholas at Villa Barria, otherwise called Villa Franca. According to the Spanish usage, this charter has also its double invocation, the implied monogram of Christ, and the formula, *In nomine*, etc.; and, as in the preceding document, the word *testamentum* is used in the sense of certification, testimony, and voluntary confirmation. The signature of the Queen is written perpendicularly by the notary, within some flourishes, the base of which is prolonged to the right, and terminates in some Tironian notes, which may be read *confirmavi*. Throughout the text we recognize the minuscule French writing, large, massive, and close, mingled with cursive letters, and the capitals sometimes singularly formed.

The specimen No. 3 commences also with the double invocation, and is another specimen of the French Capetian writing, declining towards the Gothic form; it is large and massive, but wide; divided in the words, only slightly abbreviated, and easy to be read. The monogram of Christ is here more complicated, and accompanied by the letters A and Ω. This charter contains a donation made by Fortunio Garciez

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Kaixal, of the royal family of Spain, and its date is 1183 of the Spanish era, corresponding to 1145 of the common era.

PLATES CCVIII., CCIX.

SPANISH WRITING

XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES.

CANCIONEROS, OR POETRY OF THE SPANISH TROUBADOURS.

If it were necessary to trace here the history of Spanish literature in the middle ages, it would be sufficient to repeat what has been said of the Italian and national French literature, and to add thereto a notice of the influence exercised upon the idioms of Spain by the long sojourn of the Moors in some of its provinces. The prominent facts in its history are, in fact, common to the French language in the north, the Romance or Provençal in the south, and the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, on account of their all having one common origin, the primitive source of which is hidden in the obscure genealogy of the languages of Neo-Latin Europe. The distinctive trait in the history of each of these languages is the exact period to which the earliest of its *written* productions can be assigned with certainty, so as to demonstrate a certain amount of cultivation, rules of composition, and taste; and in this respect it cannot be denied that Spain, instructed by its enthusiastic, religious, and warlike genius, and by the example of the Arab writers, had at an early period succeeded in founding a new idiom upon the Latin model, at the same time with the idiom of the south of France; so that the trouba-

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dours of Catalonia and Arragon were the contemporaries of those of Languedoc and Provence. The laws could not have been improved without a corresponding improvement in the language, and from the twelfth century a moderate constitution, produced by an advanced state of civilization, had regulated civic affairs in these Spanish provinces.

The Romances of the Cid still preserve their ancient fame; but the great literary movement in these countries appears to have taken place in the fifteenth century, when Ferdinand the Just, King of Arragon and Sicily, publicly honored the *gaya sciencia*, and encouraged it by an annual prize of forty golden florins, converted into trinkets of gold or silver, and awarded by the defenders and maintainers of this science to the most successful writers. This royal order was made at Barcelona, on the 17th March, 1413. At the same time, John II., King of Castile and Leon, led by his own taste, or by the counsels of the Marquis of Villena, (a great personage, but an indifferent poet,) exercised also the *gaya sciencia*, and not only honored its adepts, his contemporaries, but favorably received the collection of the works of their predecessors.

The fine manuscript which has furnished the specimen of Spanish writing in the first Plate belonging to this notice, is an authentic evidence of the protection given by the King of Castile to literature, since the volume contains a collection of the works of the most celebrated poets known at that period, and particularly of him who was considered as "*el muy sabyo & discreto varon, & muy syngular componedor en esta muy graciosa arte dela poetrya & gaya çiençia, Alfon Alvares de Villasandino, el qual por graçia infusa que Dios en el puso, fue esmalte & espeio & corona & monarca de todos los poetas & trobadores que fasta oy fueron en toda España.*"

This collection was made by order of the King of Castile, by his scribe and servant, Johan Alfonso de Baëna, whose

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name appears at the foot of the Plate, and who attests the labors which he had employed upon the work.

It is indeed very voluminous, and occupies more than 400 pages, in double columns, with the titles and prefaces written in vermilion. The writing is the same throughout, and exhibits a large, massive, angular, Gothic minuscule, ornamented with elegant capitals; the top-strokes and tails of moderate length, truncated diagonally; occasionally the top-strokes are forked at the end; the *f* terminated at the top by a hook bent towards the line; many of the letters are conjoined, according to the Gothic usage of writing, and the whole is elegant, well spaced, punctuated, and ornamental. This manuscript was executed between the years 1425 and 1445, for Baëna mentions Queen Maria and her children, and as she was married to John II. in 1420, and died in 1445, the volume must be referred to the first half of the fifteenth century.

The writer was known to Velasquez, Nicolas Antonio, and Bouterweck, who have written on the origin and history of Castilian poetry; but none of these authors were acquainted with the present manuscript*, of which no other copy exists. It belonged to the Escurial, from whence it subsequently passed into the rich library of Richard Heber, at the sale of which it was purchased at London for the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris†.

The manuscript from which the second Plate is copied belongs also to the Bibliothèque Royale (No. 7699). It is also

* The manuscript is particularly noticed by Juan Rodrigues de Castro, in his *Bibliotheca Española*, tom. i., p. 265, and a detailed description of it may be found in Ochoa, *Catalogo razonado de los MSS. Españoles, en la Bibl. Real de Paris*, 4to., 1844, p. 281.—Ed.

† It was lot 962 of Heber's sale, which took place in 1836, and was purchased for the sum of 63*l*. A prospectus has recently been issued by M. Francisque Michel, for the publication of the whole of the contents of the manuscript.—Ed.

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a *cancionero*, intitled *Canconer d'amor*, and is of small square folio form, consisting of 470 pages, in minuscule characters, approaching to the cursive, less angular than in the preceding specimen, as well as less ancient, since it contains the productions of the poet Vallmanya, dated in 1459. Small capitals of capricious form, rather uncials than majuscules, form the initials of the verses, and large capitals are at the head of the poems; the latter are in the most intricate Gothic style, ornamented with interlacings, double or superfluous strokes, flowers, and arabesques, embroidered, pearled, and flourished, while some are in a purer Visigothic taste, formed of animals, but exceedingly bizarre.

PLATE CCX.

GOTHIC PORTUGUESE WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

CHRONICLE OF THE CONQUEST OF GUINEA.

THE manuscript from which this fac-simile has been taken is intitled to attention, not only from its fine execution, but also on account of the historical and geographical importance of its subject, which relates to the memorable period when the Portuguese nation, by the intrepidity and good fortune of its maritime enterprises, discovered, reconnoitred, and took possession of new regions in Africa, Asia, and America, events celebrated both by poets and historians. Amongst the latter class of writers is to be placed the author of the present work, the first page of which is copied in the Plate. He names himself Gomes Eannes de Azurara, and his work is thus intitled,—"*A quy se começa a Cronica naq[ua]l som scriptos todollos feitos*

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notavees, q[ue] se passaro[m] na conquista de Guinee," etc., as seen in the first four lines of the first column of the facsimile. The continuation of the rubric states, that the conquest was undertaken by order of the Infante Dom Henrique, Duke de Viseu, and that the volume which contains it was written by order of Alphonso V. of Portugal.

This statement leaves no doubt as to the subject of the work, its author, or of the copy before us; and history has fully recorded the part taken by the Infante Dom Henrique of Portugal, as well from his personal influence as his profound knowledge, in the immortal discoveries by the Portuguese navigators, made in the second half of the fifteenth century. The chronicle of Azurara, the contemporary and friend of the Infante, proves from its authenticity the further services rendered to science by this great prince.

By a singular fortune, this valuable history has only been made known to the learned world within the last few years. Of all the writers of the peninsula, one only appears to have been acquainted with portions of the Chronicle of Azurara, namely, João de Barros*, and this may have arisen from the probable destruction of the autograph relation of the chronicler, and the wandering destiny of the only copy made from it, namely, the manuscript now at Paris. It is a small folio volume, written upon parchment, in double columns, consisting of 309 pages, the first of which is inclosed within a border of oak-leaves and acorns. In the middle of the lower margin is the shield of Portugal†, surmounted by the cross of the Order of Christ, a cross pattée gules, charged with a cross argent.

* *Asia, Decad.* I., liv. 2, c. 1.

† This is not the shield of Portugal, properly speaking, but the shield of the Infante Dom Henrique, as appears by the label and other heraldic differences, as well as by the cross of the Order of Christ, of which he was Grand Master. There can be no doubt, therefore, that this manuscript is the original presentation copy given to the Infante; a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of the MM. Champollion.—Ed.

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A portrait is placed as the frontispiece of the volume, representing a man dressed entirely in black; the portrait is surrounded by an arabesque, and in the middle of the lower border two oval spaces are formed by interlaced branches of oak, the field of each being occupied with a pyramid, and a motto is extended over both, *Talant de bien faire*, which is that of the Infante Dom Henrique, whose life was employed in exerting his talents for the benefit of science. The portrait, therefore, doubtless represents this prince.

A note at the end of the text states, that it was finished on the 18th of February, 1453, and was written by Joham Gonzalves, scribe of King Alphonso V.; and a letter of nearly the same date contains the dedication made by the author of the chronicle to the King, who had ordered him to compose it.

Although these circumstances sufficiently prove that the manuscript ought to belong to the *Royal Library of Lisbon*, mentioned by Gonsalvez, it appears that the volume was lost to Portugal not long after its completion. Damiano de Goes was only acquainted with the name of the author; but Louis de Sousa saw the manuscript itself at Valencia, in Arragon*, and in 1702 it was in the library of D. Juan Lucas Cortez, member of the council of Castile. Lastly, it was discovered in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, (but how it came there is entirely unknown,) where it had been inserted for more than thirty years in the catalogue of the manuscripts in the French and other modern languages, under No. 236. (*Suppl. Fr.*) A valuable notice of this volume was printed in 1839, by M. Ferdinand Denis†, and Viscounts de Carreira and de Santarem published the entire text at Paris, in 1841. The manuscript is bound with the arms of Napoleon on the covers.

* He describes it in his work intitled *Historia de S. Domingos*, pt. I., liv. 6, c. 15, p. 332, ed. 1623.—Ed.

† See the *Chroniques Chevaleresques de l'Espagne et de Portugal*, tom. ii., p. 43, 8vo. Par. 1839.—Ed.

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The writing is one of the finest specimens of the Gothic style: this minuscule is, indeed, thick and massive, but well spaced, very regular, and less angular than it would have been had it been written in France or Germany. Many of the letters are conjoined, both at the end and middle of the words, but the abbreviations are not numerous; the words are divided, and the paragraphs and proper names indicated by small capitals.

The open space of the large ornamental initial G is occupied by the shield of Portugal, surmounted by the helmet, crown, crest, and mantling. The colored ornaments add also greatly to the beauty of this fine volume, which is of the middle of the fifteenth century.

PLATE CCXI.

SPANISH WRITING.

OF THE MIDDLE OF THE XVITH CENTURY.

[THERE is no text descriptive of this Plate, which contains four specimens of Spanish writing thus designated,—*Aragonesa redonda, Aragonesa tirada, Cancellaresca Castellana,* and *Cagstellana mas formada.*—ED.]

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PART IV.

LATIN WRITING OF MODERN EUROPE.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

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§ I. ROMAN WRITING OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

PLATES CCXII.—CCXIV.

UNCIAL AND ANGLO-SAXON WRITING.

VITH, VIITH, AND VIIITH CENTURIES.

FRAGMENTS OF BIBLICAL WORKS, COPIED FROM MANUSCRIPTS IN ENGLAND.

THE opinions concerning the origin, rise, and formation of a national style of writing in England have been very various, as will be seen in the subsequent notices of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. In the present article will be described the eight fac-similes copied from the same number of manuscripts preserved in different English libraries*. But in regard to these manuscripts, it will be necessary to lay down a fundamental distinction, some of them having been executed in England, and others upon the continent of Europe.

It must also be borne in mind, that when Gregory the Great sent St. Augustine to christianize England, it was requisite for this new apostle to have with him both assistants and books; and palæographers have pointed out, in the history of Anglo-Saxon writing, several fine and very ancient manuscripts of the Scriptures, which are considered to have been carried by this saint from the continent into the British islands.

* These fac-similes are all borrowed from Astle's *Origin and Progress of Writing*, 4to. 1803, without any acknowledgment on the part of the French editors.—ED.

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Among these manuscripts is the one from which the specimen, No. 3, in Plate CCXII. is copied. It is a Psalter, contained in the Cottonian library at the British Museum*, which is traditionally affirmed to have belonged to St. Augustine.

We must at once admit the Roman origin, direct or indirect, of this manuscript, since its text exhibits a perfect model of small square uncial characters, very regular and well spaced, with the words divided, and without any tendency to the minuscule forms. The A in the first line of the Psalm is flattened at the top, the I introduced within the D, and the entire line, terminated by letters arranged vertically over each other, is to be read DILEGAM TE $\overline{\text{DNE}}$[*Domine*]. The spiral ornaments of the initial letter are especially remarkable, and as all these large letters are without doubt of Anglo-Saxon form, it may be conjectured, that an Italian scribe executed this fine manuscript, and formed his capitals according to the Anglo-Saxon style, which might carry the date of this volume towards the period of the mission of St. Augustine among the Anglo-Saxons, at the close of the sixth century.

The same date is ascribed to the manuscript† which has furnished the specimen, No. 1, in the same Plate. The top line is written in fine capitals, purely Anglo-Saxon, as is also the text, in small characters. The influence of the Augustinian missionaries is here, however, entirely lost, which would lead us to assign a somewhat later date to this fine volume. The letters in the first line are all square, but in the remaining

* Vespasian A. I. (In Astle, pl. ix. p. 82.) See a more satisfactory fac-simile and account of this valuable manuscript in Westwood's *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*.—ED.

† From the Cottonian MS. Otho C.V. (Astle, pl. xv. 1. p. 98), which is erroneously stated by Astle and Planta to have entirely perished in the fire of 1731. Fragments of about sixty leaves still remain, and among them the leaf from which the present fac-simile was taken. It contained originally the entire Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and is, unquestionably, of *Irish* origin, and probably of the seventh century.—ED.

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lines are curved. The first line contains two words, one Greek and one Latin, CATA MARCUM. In the specimen, No. 2, in the same Plate, the writing slopes a little, and is mingled with minuscule letters, many of which are conjoined*. The writing offers characteristics very useful for comparison with those of the two other fac-similes in the Plate.

In Plate CCXIII. two fac-similes are figured. The first o these is in good Anglo-Saxon uncial writing, the *g*, *b*, *l*, *n*, *t*, *f*, having all the characteristics of this style. These characteristics are still more apparent in the first line of capitals, which is to be read FUIT IN DIEBUS; commencing with a large initial, surrounded by a double row of dots, the tail of which terminates in the head of an animal, with volutes, and the top-stroke prolonged into a similar ornament. This fine manuscript also belongs to the Cottonian collection, in which it is considered as one of the most precious monuments of Anglo-Saxon calligraphy†. The Latin text of this copy of the Gospels has an interlineary Anglo-Saxon gloss, which is stated to have been written by Aldred, Bishop of Durham, between the years 946 and 968. There are reasons for attributing this manuscript to the second moiety of the eighth century‡.

* MS. Corp. Coll. Camb. No. 197 (Astle, pl. xv. 2. p. 85), containing portions of the Gospels of St. John and St. Luke. The writing resembles greatly the early part of MS. Reg. 2 A. xx. Both these manuscripts are of *Irish* origin, and the orthography of the word *misus* (*missus*), which occurs in them, is found in others of the same class, as the Mac Regol Gospels, &c.—ED.

† It is the celebrated manuscript Nero D. IV. (Astle, pl. xiv. 6. pp. 97—101), which is surpassed only in ornament by the Book of Kells, in Trinity College library, Dublin, specimens of which are given by Westwood, in his *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*.—ED.

‡ This is clearly an error of the French editors, since Astle (the authority they follow) expressly assigns its execution to the priest Eadfrith (subsequently Bishop of Lindisfarne), in the lifetime of St. Cuthbert, who died in 687. The text of the volume cannot, at all events, be later than the year 721, the date of Eadfrith's death. See Shaw's *Illuminated Ornaments*, 1833, fol.—ED.

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The second specimen is copied from the Rushworth manuscript in the Bodleian library at Oxford. It appears that this fine volume bears the name of its scribe (an unusual occurrence) in the following note: "*Magregol dipinxit hoc Evangelium. . . . . orate pro Magregiul scriptore.*" The writing is much mixed, both upright and slanting, vertical and broken; circumstances which do not allow us, without some hesitation, to refer this volume to the eighth century, the period to which it is ascribed by the learned in England*.

The first fac-simile in Plate CCXIV. is remarkable for the date which appears in the second line, and which is copied from a charter† of King Æthelbald, formerly belonging to the Cottonian library. This date is of the year of the incarnation of our Lord 749, "*Dominicæ incarnationis anno* dccxlviiii," which proves this manuscript, written in a mixed uncial, or, more correctly, semi-uncial character, to belong to the middle of the eighth century.

The specimen, No. 2, in this Plate, is copied from a manuscript in the Old Royal library in the British Museum‡. The large initial, which is ornamented and colored, consists of the two letters IN conjoined, the first two strokes of which are elongated, and terminate at the bottom in the heads of two animals, whilst a dragon forms the oblique bar of the N. The remainder of the text is written in Anglo-Saxon characters, in which minuscules and uncial capitals are mingled,

* Astle, pl. xvi. p. 99. According to O'Conor, *Script. Hib.* 4to. 1814, vol. i. p. ccxxx., the scribe of this volume was Abbot of Birr, in Ireland, and died in the year 820. The similarity of this manuscript, in point of execution, to the Gospels of Lindisfarne, St. Chad, Kells, St. Columba, &c., is so striking, as to render it very doubtful whether so late a date can be properly assigned to it.—Ed.

† MM. Champollion erroneously call it a *Bible*. The volume in which it was contained, Otho A. I. (Astle, pl. xv. 2. p. 102), perished in the fire which took place in 1731.—Ed.

‡ MS. Reg. 2 A. xx. (Astle, pl. xviii. 1. p. 103.) It contains some lessons from the Gospels, and a collection of prayers.—Ed.

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which will not allow the date of this manuscript to be extended beyond the eighth century.

The third specimen in the same Plate* is entirely written in minuscule letters, except the first line, the initial P of which is remarkably elegant; the A and V following are conjoined. The minuscule *a* in the text is of a triangular form.

PLATE CCXV.

LOMBARDIC AND ANGLO-SAXON WRITING†.

VIIITH CENTURY.

COUNCILS, DECRETALS, AND LETTERS OF THE POPES.

THE specimens copied from Lombardic manuscripts previously given in the present work will afford sufficient materials for a complete knowledge of the system of writing so named. Much might be said in explanation of the motives which led to the imposition of the name of a barbarous nation (originally entirely unacquainted with literature, and indebted for all its knowledge to the schools of the people which it conquered) on a writing entirely Roman in its origin. We cannot, however, undertake to reform the palæographical nomenclature sanctioned by the authority of so many learned writers, and shall therefore merely observe, that by Lombardic writing is meant that which was generally used in Italy during the sojourn of

* From a manuscript of the Pauline Epistles in the Bodleian library, Laud, E. 67 (Astle, pl. xvi. p. 104).—ED.

† This Plate has been erroneously placed here by the French editors, among the series of specimens of *Anglo-Saxon* writing, with which it has no connexion whatever. It ought to have been included in the series of specimens of *Lombardic* writing, in Part III.—ED.

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the Lombards, who conquered the greater portion of that country in A.D. 568, and retained it during a period of two centuries; and which, notwithstanding their expulsion, continued to be in general use, even beyond the borders of Italy, until the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The manuscript from which the present fac-simile is copied is one of the most ancient and finest specimens of this kind of writing. It is a tall and narrow folio volume, measuring about 12½ inches by 7½, containing at present 140 leaves of fair vellum, the remains of a larger number, and divided into unequal gatherings. The margins are wide, particularly at the foot of the page, and on the last page of each gathering is a number in Roman numerals, some of which still remain, but the majority have long ago been carelessly cut away by the binder. It was rebound a few years ago in blue morocco for the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris (to which the volume belongs, No. 331 *Suppl. Lat.*), and the margins preserved in their former state; and this precaution in regard to ancient vellum manuscripts, and even modern ones of value, is practised as an absolute rule, and may guarantee the administration of the Bibliothèque Royale against the charge (unfortunately too just as well in former times as at present) made by the Benedictines against those collectors who do not perceive how much injury may be done to an ancient manuscript by a new binding, which, although extremely beautiful, may deprive the volume of its most intrinsically valuable portion. If a manuscript cannot be restored without injury, it ought to be enclosed within a case, which may be ornamented at pleasure. Such is the practice adopted at the Bibliothèque Royale.

The pages of this Lombardic manuscript contain in general thirty-six lines of writing, between the same number of lines ruled with a hard point, the extremities of which are marked by punctures, the width of the page being limited by two parallel vertical lines.

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This fine volume contains the canons of various councils, and the decretals and letters of different popes, the earliest of whom is St. Siricius, who held the pontificate from A.D. 384 to A.D. 398. The councils of Ancyra and Neocesaræa in Pontus, are the most ancient of those recorded in the manuscript. A learned German, distinguished for his knowledge of ecclesiastical documents, M. J. H. Knust, has given to this volume the title of *Collectio Canonum Dionysio-Hadrianea.*

The page partly given in the fac-simile represents three different kinds of Lombardic writing.

The first line, INCIPIT EPISTULA DECRETALIS, consists of party-colored majuscule letters, massive both in the body and extremities, and neatly truncated, mingled with the uncials U, and ∈; the first letter I being prolonged below the line into a triangular point.

The second and third lines are in semi-capitals and semi-uncials, rather taller than wide; the horizontal strokes of the E bent downwards; the tails long, and generally terminating in a point; the top-strokes clavate, and turned backwards. The title announces a decretal letter of Pope Siricius, addressed to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona. The text of this letter commences with a D of an Anglo-Saxon majuscule form, the open part of which is colored red; the remainder of the text is in Lombardic minuscules, tall, narrow, and close; the words divided; some of the letters conjoined, with long acute tails, and top-strokes, but not clavate; the straight strokes of the *d* and *r* reach below the line; *ec* and *et* are united together, like &; the *a* generally open, like *u*, but distinguished from that letter by having the second stroke bent, like *c*; *f* is raised above the line, whilst *r*, which resembles it, extends below; *m* is omitted at the end of words, and supplied by a mark of abbreviation; *e* is always written for *ae*, but, in general, the orthography of the text is regular.

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In all the graphic characters of this fac-simile may be recognized a fine and elegant example of Lombardic writing of the seventh, or at latest of the eighth century.

PLATE CCXVI.

SEMI-UNCIAL AND MINUSCULE SAXON WRITING.

VIIIᵀᴴ AND IXᵀᴴ CENTURIES.

HOMILIES OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM AND ST. AUGUSTINE.

THE precious manuscript which has furnished the specimens* in the accompanying Plate, is one of those which, at an early period of Latin palæography, were written by more scribes than one. It has been ascertained beyond doubt, that in order to obtain an entire copy of a volume, it was usual to distribute distinct portions of it to various scribes; and a manuscript is extant, in which the first page of each gathering bears, on the lower margin, the names of the monks by whom they were simultaneously written.

In the present manuscript three different hands at least may be easily distinguished. The Plate represents only two of these, executed in Saxon† characters; but the second part of the volume is written in Roman or Lombardic minuscule, quite distinct in all its characters from the Saxon.

* It belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 1771.—ED.

† The MM. Champollion use here and elsewhere the general term *Saxon*; but this is scarcely correct. Further on, misled by the authority of the Benedictines (*Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.* iii. 378), they designate the specimens of writing in the present Plate as *Franco-Saxon;* but nothing is more certain than that the manuscript in question was written by an *Anglo-Saxon* scribe, as shown by peculiar forms, which do not occur in the national writings of France, Germany, or Italy.—ED.

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The present state of this manuscript, although imperfect, affords proof of the distribution of its text among several copyists at the same time. The large writing of the first specimen in the Plate entirely fills the first four *quaternions*, which bear the *signatures* XIIII to XVII, at the foot of the last page of each. The writing of the second specimen commences on the first page of the quaternion immediately following, which bears the signature XVIII; but it is continued only to the middle of the eleventh page, where the first hand recommences, and continues to the middle of the tenth page of quaternion XX, where it ceases, and gives place to the Roman minuscule, which extends throughout the remainder of the volume. The two scribes, therefore, whose writing is represented in the Plate, were employed at the same time upon the same manuscript; but the one who executed the second specimen appears only to have furnished ten pages and a half to the volume.

The manuscript is a moderate-sized folio, composed of strong vellum, ruled with a hard point, with two perpendicular lines to limit the width of the margins of each page, which contain 34 lines of the larger, and 38 of the smaller writing.

The Benedictines remark, that some signatures in this manuscript have been erased, or written over; and thence conclude, that these quaternions may have belonged to several distinct manuscripts*. It may be added, that traces exist of an ancient signature, VII, (counting from the first page of the small writing,) and that these seven quaternions have become the last of a new manuscript, in which they were re-numbered XVIII to XXIIII, and of which the present volume contains only the second moiety. This second moiety embraces the three different writings already indicated, namely, the large Saxon minuscule, the moderate-sized letter, and the Roman

* *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.* tom. iii. p. 227.—ED.

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minuscule, of which more interesting specimens have already been given.

Including the titles, the Plate contains four different varieties of Saxon writing, two being semi-uncial, and two minuscule. By the term semi-uncial, is understood a writing derived from the ancient capital, but rounded, and admitting, together with the letters which are peculiar to it, others both uncial and minuscule; an irregular mixture, in which the height of the letters is not to be regarded, as the name might lead us to suppose.

The top line in the Plate is a specimen of strong, square, tall, semi-uncial writing, truncated at both extremities; many of the letters being identical with the Roman minuscule, and the *r*, *t*, and *u*, scarcely characteristic. The initial O has its centre ornamented with a human face; the words are separated, and are easily to be read,—*Omnium quidem de scripturis questionum.*

The text is in a Franco-Saxon minuscule writing, the varieties of which are numerous; that of the specimen is acute, with long strokes, close, thick, upright, and angular; the top-strokes obliquely truncated; the words semi-divided, and the phrases punctuated. The continuation of the text is to be read,—*absolutio, illi solita ut est, nota est, qui* (*d* struck through) *dixit, ego sum veritas; nos autem* oportet*, etc.; being the commencement of the second Homily of St. John Chrysostom *de Militia Christiana.*

The title of the second specimen is also written in a semi-uncial Franco-Saxon minuscule hand, but of a rounded form, with the words divided; the letters of moderate size, but sloping from left to right; the top-strokes being angular, and obliquely truncated; having only the *g*, *t*, *r*, and *e*, of the

* The French editors read *nostra*, although they could scarcely be ignorant of the meaning of the peculiar but usual Anglo-Saxon and Irish form of contraction for *autem*.—Ed.

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uncial form; the *e* with a cedilla, standing for *æ*; the letter *c* turned towards the left (ɔ), standing for *ejus*, and turned to the right (c), signifying *com**. The title is to be read, *+Incp* [*Incipit*] *beati Aug*[*ustin*]*i tractatus de duobus cæcis.* The first line of the minuscule writing reads thus,—*ihm̄ xpm̄* [*Jesum Christum*] *medicum esse nostre salutis aeterne, et ad hoc eum suscepisse infirmitatem*, etc.; this minuscule being the triangular Franco-Saxon; the words quite distinct, the letters firm, but sharp, and the top-strokes terminating in clavate forms, obliquely truncated.

All these graphic peculiarities (to which is to be added, especially in the first specimen, a singular incorrectness of the text) are to be referred to the eighth or ninth century. The Benedictines have given numerous specimens of the writings of this period†.

PLATE CCXVII.

FRANCO-SAXON MINUSCULE WRITING.

VIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

GALLICAN PSALTER OF ST. OUEN, IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF ROUEN.

In describing various specimens of the Saxon writings of England, Ireland, France, and Germany, we have indicated the chief characters of this style of writing, which was widely extended from the eighth to the fourteenth century, as well as the special marks which enable us to recognise its national

* No instances of these forms occur in the Plate, but the first is noticed by the Benedictines.—Ed.

† *Nouv. Traité de Diplom.*, tom. iii. pp. 226, 228, 378, 380.

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differences*. The specimen now before us is especially worthy of notice, on account of its great age and the fame of the manuscript from which it has been copied. The learned Benedictine authors of the *Nouvelle Diplomatique* frequently cite this volume, which they consider to have been written in the seventh or eighth century; and they assure us that it formerly belonged to the abbey of Saint-Evroult, in Normandy. It contains, in fact, a census of this ancient abbey, and a diploma of Philip-Augustus, both written in the thirteenth century, together with thirty-two odes of Horace, written in the twelfth.

The most important portion, however, of this valuable manuscript is the first part, in which, according to a custom generally practised, various treatises of a much later date have been written on the pages originally left blank.

This first portion contains the Latin Psalter, according to two rather different versions, one of which is termed the Gallican, the other being the translation made by St. Jerome from the Hebrew. These two versions are accompanied by a great number of interlineary notes; and we can easily comprehend, that in a liturgical work so widely diffused as the Psalter, the Gallican version, to which a national origin was given, would be preferred in France before all others; especially since it was generally adopted throughout the countries of Latin Europe, and more widely spread even than the Roman Psalter. Pope Urban V. expressly recognized it in a bull issued in the eighth year of his pontificate, by which he permitted the use of the Gallican Psalter to the monks of Monte Cassino.

* The MM. Champollion rely wholly on the antiquated notions of the Benedictines, in regard to these pretended varieties of Saxon writing, and so far from having pointed out any distinctive national characteristics, they neglect and overlook the obvious and striking peculiarities which are found in the manuscripts written in Ireland and England, or, at all events, executed by Irish and Anglo-Saxon scribes.—Ed.

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The two parallel texts represented in the upper part of the Plate are those of Psalm CI., according to the two versions; that on the left being the Vulgate, published by order of Popes Sixtus V. and Clement VIII. There are some slight variations between the text here given and the printed text.

In the lower division of the Plate is Psalm I., according to the Gallican version, and on the opposite side is a series of majuscule letters, very singular in their forms, which agree with the period and style of the manuscript.

Although the general appearance of the three specimens would at first lead to the inference of a complete analogy between them, yet a little attention will discover the contrary; they have, in fact, nothing more in common than being all written in Saxon characters, but they are of different kinds. The specimen to the left, in the upper part of the Plate, is a semi-uncial Saxon, taller than wide, upright, and compressed; the F, R, S, and T, retain the forms of capitals; the *e* is closed, and the *l* straight; there are but few abbreviations, and an initial letter of peculiar Saxon character occurs at the commencement of each verse.

In the right-hand specimen the characters of the uncial writing have almost entirely disappeared, with the exception of the R, which retains the capital form, but with the upright stroke extending below the line; there are also some instances of a capital S at the beginning and middle of words, but they are few in number; we have here, therefore, a Saxon minuscule, tall, upright, and close, mingled with some uncials, the top-strokes of which are short, and sometimes inclined to the left, and thickened; the tail-strokes are elongated, and obliquely truncated.

The third specimen is still further removed from the uncial form. The *r* has the form of *n;* the *f* appears in different forms, straight or broken, and the tails of the *g* and *q* are curved upwards. The writing of this specimen is more close

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and angular, as well as less elegant, than that of either of the others.

The initial letters represented in the lower part of this Plate exhibit all the caprice of the scribe; they belong to the serpentine class, and the value of each is indicated by a small Roman capital letter; which is rendered the more necessary, on account of the great variety in their forms, which approach in irregularity somewhat to the cursive character.

It would be difficult, perhaps, to collect more interesting specimens of Saxon* capital and minuscule writing of the eighth century than are represented in this Plate.

PLATE CCXVIII.

SAXON MINUSCULE WRITING.

VIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

HOMILIES OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

THE writing termed Saxon, in its three principal divisions, namely, the capital, minuscule, and cursive, is only a degraded form of the Roman writing, such as was used by the ancient Britons. There can be no doubt, that St. Augustine, and the other monks sent by Gregory the Great into England, would carry with them the Roman writing, if it were not already known there. On the subsequent arrival of the Anglo-Saxons,

* On the Plate the writing is termed *Anglo-Saxon*, but *Franco-Saxon* in the heading of the original text. The manuscript was evidently written by a scribe of the *Irish* school, and from its resemblance to the Psalter of Ricemarchus, Westwood (*Palæogr. Sacra Pict.*) supposes it to be not earlier than the tenth century; a date confirmed by the marginal notes in small minuscules found in the manuscript, a specimen of which is in pl. 59 of the *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.* tom. iii. p. 444.—ED.

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towards the middle of the sixth century*, they could do no otherwise than adopt it; and it is from this mixture of different nations that the writing of which we speak took its title.

The use of this very characteristic writing extended beyond the limits occupied by the Anglo-Saxons; it penetrated into Ireland† and France, and was carried by the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine monks into Germany. Hence have arisen the subdivisions proposed by learned palæographers, (not, however, on grounds sufficiently solid,) of the writing generally denominated Saxon, the principal of which are, the Anglo-Saxon, the Hiberno-Saxon, the Franco-Saxon, and the Germano-Saxon.

It is well known, that in England this kind of writing was generally prevalent until the time of the Conquest by William, Duke of Normandy, after which event its use became more limited, in consequence of the Norman influence, which brought into vogue the French minuscule; the Anglo-Saxon writing, however, still maintained itself in England until towards the twelfth century. It results from these circumstances, that the manuscripts in Franco-Saxon writing are, in general, more ancient than those of the same character written in England, and especially in Ireland‡.

The Franco-Saxon minuscule writing is very varied. That in which the letters are round, with long strokes and fine hair-lines, tall, not conjoined, and having the angles and tops of the strokes obliquely truncated, with long pointed tails, con-

* The gross chronological error here committed is obvious, and the argument drawn from it of course falls to the ground. The Anglo Saxons arrived about A.D. 449, and St. Augustine in A.D. 597.—Ed.

† Rather, was influenced by means of the Irish missionaries, who came from Iona into England in the seventh century.—Ed.

‡ Such a conclusion is perfectly idle, and does not deserve a serious refutation; the contrary, indeed, is proved by the specimens given in the work itself.—Ed.

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stitutes a variety remarkable for its elegance, and pleasing to the eye, of which a specimen is represented in the accompanying Plate*. It is copied from a manuscript of the Homilies of St. Augustine, belonging to the Royal library of Munich, which came from the cathedral of Freisingen. It appears from the subscription *Amalricus scripsit*, which occurs at the end of a prayer, that this volume was written by a scribe named Amalric; but in a note by a modern hand, it is asserted that the manuscript was the work of St. Corbinian, the first Bishop of Freisingen, who died in A.D. 730, or, at least, of his first successor in the bishopric. The mention of the scribe Amalric (a name which is not unusual in France) entirely discredits this statement.

The text of the fac-simile commences with the word IN, in Saxon capital letters, the first being *anthropomorphic*, formed of the entire figure of a man. Other examples are found of the letter I, formed of a man standing upright, clad in a monastic habit; but the present figure is more remarkable, both in its grotesque position and dress. The form of the N is here inverted, the long stroke being the first, the second not extending to its base, and united half way to the other stroke by a horizontal bar. It is apparently a mistake or caprice of the scribe†, who has colored these two letters with red, yellow, and green.

The text of this fac-simile is part of one of the Homilies attributed to St. Augustine, but which is regarded as supposititious by the best critics‡, the subject of which is taken from the Gospel of St. John, chap. iv. It is to be read :—

* On the Plate, the writing is designated *Anglo-Saxon*, which is correct, although probably executed in Germany.—Ed.

† This form of the N is not unusual in Anglo-Saxon and early Irish manuscripts. It may be added, that these letters are surrounded by red dots, in the style peculiar to the same class of manuscripts —Ed.

‡ *S. Aurelii Augustini Opera*, edit. Benedict. Paris, 1683, tom. v. *Append.* p. 166, Sermo xciii.

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IN lectione [*e*]vangelii infirmitatem humani generis suscepisse dnm̄ [*Dominum*] ihm̄ xpm̄ [*Jhesum Christum*] plenissime nob*is* scs̄* [*sanctus*] evangelista monstravit. Siq*ui*dem cum dixisset, venisse dnm̄ in civitatem Semariae q*uæ* dr̄ [*dicitur*] Sicar, juxta predium quod dedit Jacob Joseph filio suo, in quo p*re*dio erat fons Jacob, addidit, ihs̄ [*Jhesus*] inquid, fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic supra putheum, *etc.*

There are but few abbreviations in this text, the greater number of which occur in the ordinary proper names and usual words. The word *est* in the third line of the second column is represented by a horizontal stroke between two dots (÷). The sentences are separated by special marks, which indicate their termination; the initial letters are small capitals, colored alternately red or yellow, amongst which the N has the same irregular form as in the initial word. The whole presents a remarkable specimen of Saxon writing, so generally used in the chief countries of Europe previous to the tenth century.

PLATE CCXIX

SAXON MINUSCULE WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

COMMENTARIES OF TAGIUS SAMUEL UPON THE SENTENCES OF ST. GREGORY.

THE researches made into the writing called Saxon, which was in use in many states of the European continent during the seven centuries preceding A.D. 1200, have given birth to very contradictory opinions. It has been compared to the

* The French editors read this contraction *ios*, and suppose it meant for *Johannes*, but no such form is ever found. In all probability, the word is not quite accurately traced from the manuscript. Compare lines 15 and 19.—ED.

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ancient Gothic, without, however, the latter being at all determined, and even a classical origin has been assigned to it, and its introduction into England attributed to the Greeks, during their maritime voyages*. We may perhaps approach nearer to the truth by generalising the question; and if we consider well the decided and well-marked characters of this kind of writing, and their undisputed analogy with those of the Roman writing adopted in all the countries of Europe, subject to the Roman dominion, we shall class the Saxon writing among the numerous Latin family, and assign to the Britons previous to the arrival of the Saxons, and to the Anglo-Saxons, after the mixture of these two peoples, the invention and adoption of those special features and peculiar forms, which have rendered this series of characters a national writing, which has retained its original denomination up to the present time. The period of its origin cannot be extended beyond the period of the Saxon invasion, in the middle of the sixth† century; and in all questions analogous to the subject here under discussion, we must not overlook the great influence exercised by the introduction of Christianity by the Latin Church, whose doctrines were accompanied by the diffusion of its writing, which was employed on all occasions for the propagation of its faith, thus necessarily multiplying its types at various times, and in different places; and in all these types the majuscule letters have always been distinguished from the minuscules, whilst the latter, after their classification according to countries, have been separated into the conjoined and not conjoined, the acute and the rounded; and if, shortly before the Norman Conquest, the French or renovated Roman minuscule letters were introduced into England, and subsequently became general, on the other

* See *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.*, tom. iii., p. 370.—Ed.

† Here again the MM. Champollion repeat their error, as to the period of the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain.—Ed.

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hand, the Anglo-Saxon writing had penetrated into France, and there became nationalized without being dominant, but submitting to a variety of specific and generic changes in its types.

The very remarkable specimen represented in the present Plate*, shews us the triangular Franco-Saxon minuscule; a title which we cannot refuse to it, when we remark the care with which the scribe has formed into a triangle, (the point of which is turned to the left,) all the letters capable of such a figure, such as the *a*, *d*, *q*, *o*, and *c;* angular forms are also studiously introduced into other letters, and even the down-stroke of the *t* has not entirely escaped. The general effect of this writing is, nevertheless, pleasing to the eye; the words are distinctly divided from each other; the letters sometimes conjoined, acute in their strokes, thick, wide, and upright, with long pointed tails, and thick top-strokes, obliquely truncated. The *g* retains its special form, characteristic of this kind of writing; the *r* and *s*, of the same form, extending below the line; the *m* has its three strokes straight and acute; *n*, of the uncial form, is very conspicuous; *l* is curved, and is carried both above and below the line; *i* is obliquely truncated at the top; the initials of the paragraphs are larger than minuscules, although of the same form, real majuscules being only found in the first word of the text.

It is the first chapter of the treatise contained in the manuscript, which is a commentary of Tagius, Bishop of Barcelona, surnamed Samuel, in the seventh century, upon the Sentences of Saint Gregory, as we learn from the subscription at the end of the preface, addressed to Quiricus, Bishop of Saragossa, written in eight lines, in Anglo-Saxon majuscule letters, the ground of which is alternately colored green, red, and yellow,—"*Domino mihi valde venerabili atque sanctissimo, Quirico Epō* [*Episcopo*] *Tagius Epṣ* [*Episcopus*], *cognomento*

* Taken from a manuscript in the Bibl. Royale at Paris, (*Suppl. Lat.*, No. 866).—Ed.

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Samuhel." In this subscription the form of the letter Q is remarkable, being square, with a cedilla arising in the interior of the letter; a form not inappropriate, since the O is also represented square, and the Q is only O with a tail. The square O is also to be observed in the first word of the text of the fac-simile, preceded by this rubric,—*Quod* $\overline{ds}$ [*Deus*] *incommutabilis, summus et ætern*[*u*]*s* existat.* The initial letter of the word SOLUS is a beautiful example of the Anglo-Saxon *zoomorphic* letters, the ends terminating in dragons' heads, whence spring two arabesques, ornamented with similar heads, mingled with leaves and flowers, and colored. The other letters of this first word are also colored green and yellow, the S being remarkable in its form, like a reversed Z, which is not, however, unusual in Anglo-Saxon majuscule writing.

This manuscript consists of 360 pages of strong vellum, the columns and lines of which are ruled with a hard point, and the leaves distributed in *quaternions*, which do not all appear to have been written by one hand. A number of majuscule letters occur in it, very varied and original in design; the peculiar character, indeed, of manuscripts of the same origin as the one before us, which may be attributed to the ninth century.

* The word *ut* is colored red by mistake, after *æternus*.

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PLATE CCXX.

MINUSCULE SAXON WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

FRAGMENTS OF ST. AUGUSTINE AND BEDE, IN THE LIBRARY OF CARLSRUHE.

We have already had occasion to observe, that the kind of writing which bears the general name of Saxon, was not exclusively in use among the Anglo-Saxons, but that it was employed at the same time in Ireland, France, and various parts of Germany. This writing is thence termed Britanno-Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, Dano-Saxon, Germano-Saxon, and Franco-Saxon, according to the different countries in which the manuscripts were written in which this character is employed. Learned palæographers, who have studied the most curious monuments of this writing, have established still more special subdivisions; thus, they give the name of Norman-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman, to the writing which contains a mixture of Anglo-Saxon with Norman; a confusion which was inevitable, from the relations subsisting between Normandy and England, and which were of great antiquity, since King Edward the Confessor was reared in the former country. This Saxon writing is also termed *English* by some of the scribes, for it is thus named in a note in the celebrated Psalter of St. Ouen, written in the eighth century*.

The Saxon minuscule writing, (whatever may be its geographical origin,) is distinguished also into the *conjoined* and

* The whole of the above is copied from the *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.*, tom. iii., p. 371.—Ed.

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not conjoined, the *acute* and the *rounded* letter. The two examples given in the present Plate, copied from two different manuscripts, will be found useful in studying these two kinds of Saxon writing. The learned in England carry back the use of this character above a thousand years; and it is certain, that in several celebrated manuscripts the Saxon minuscule is employed, as well as capital letters, such as the Gospels of Lindisfarne; the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede, translated into Saxon by King Alfred the Great, who died A.D. 901; the Gospels of Fulda; those of the Church of St. Gatien, at Tours; and some of the most ancient manuscripts of this kind in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and of the abbey of St. Germain des Prés. All these instances prove, beyond question, the general usage of the Saxon writing throughout the learned portions of Europe, to have been concurrent with the Roman and Gallican minuscule characters.

The two manuscripts of the library of Carlsruhe, from which the present fac-similes have been made, present also undeniable proofs of the very ancient use of this Saxon writing, since they are referred, not without foundation, to the ninth century.

The first, No. 83, contains various chronological works of Venerable Bede, such as the treatise *De Ætatibus mundi*, the *Computus temporum*, and other well-known compositions of this English writer. The specimen taken from the 18th leaf of this manuscript exhibits a fair example of triangular Saxon writing, wide, acute, and slanting, with long pointed tails; the tops clavate and obliquely truncated; very little conjoined; the *a* open, like *u*; an arbitrary sign to express *vel**; the diphthong *ae* separated; numerous abbreviations, and without punctuation, except at the end of sentences. The first line of the paragraph is distinguished by an uncial initial, and

* Mistaken by the French editors for *et*. It is the letter *l*, with a bar across it.—Ed.

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a larger minuscule letter. The commencement of each of the two extracts is as follows:—

Operatio divina quae saecula creavit & gubernat quadam formi ratione distinguitur. Primo *etc.*

De sex hujus mundi aetatibus ac septima l' [*vel*] octava.

The second manuscript bears the number 36, and contains the *Soliloquia* and other pieces of St. Augustine. The facsimile is taken from the first leaf of this manuscript, and offers a very remarkable model of Saxon minuscule writing, with thick strokes slightly rounded, although acute; with slender hair-strokes, and approaching the ordinary minuscule; the straight strokes and tails curved upwards; the letters scarcely conjoined; the words separate; the *a* closed; the top-strokes clavate, and obliquely truncated; and with few abbreviations. The syllable *est* is expressed by the ordinary abbreviation (÷), even in the composition of a word, as in *potest;* the conjunction *et* is represented by a sign resembling the figure 7; *ae* are not conjoined; *t̃* stands for *ter*, *b.* for *bus*; and two short strokes above or below a letter, indicate that it is to be expunged, as in *ista*, which should be read *ita* (*line* 15). This fragment commences thus:—

Volenti mihi multa et varia mecum diu ac per multos dies sedulo querenti, *etc.*

The majuscule letters and ornaments copied from the manuscript, No. 83, complete the Saxon specimens contained in the Plate.

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PLATE CCXXI.

HIBERNO-SAXON MINUSCULE WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

LATIN GRAMMAR OF PRISCIAN.

ALTHOUGH the specimens of Hiberno-Saxon writing contained in the present work are but few in number*, they will be sufficient, in conjunction with the explanatory remarks annexed to them, to give the reader a complete idea of the origin, nature, and history of this kind of writing. Its derivation from the Roman writing is undoubted, and its existence up to the thirteenth century is equally certain; the only difficulty is to find specimens of an earlier period, of the time, namely, when the Saxon influence in England was still in full vigor, and preserved the ancient customs established, for the most part, in that country before their arrival.

The Norman conquest modified these usages (especially that of the national writing) by the unavoidable operation of the Norman and French customs; but it appears that the previous kind of writing common to the inhabitants of England, Scotland, and Ireland, notwithstanding certain uniform characters, which prove their descent from one and the same type, was nevertheless distinguished by some particular forms, sufficiently striking to enable us to recognize three national types: hence the Saxon writing of Ireland has been distinguished from the English-Saxon, and considered sufficiently singular to constitute a peculiar species of minuscule, of which

* If we include those specimens in the preceding Plates which are clearly of *Irish* origin, but mis-named *Saxon*, the number will not be so small as the French editors suppose.—ED.

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the present fac-simile represents one of the most ancient examples.

Like all the kinds of Saxon writing, it is conjoined or not conjoined, acute or rounded; and on comparing examples of each, it is easy to perceive that the writing in which the letters are not conjoined, is much more easily read, than that in which the letters are joined and confounded together by numerous ligatures.

The dislike expressed by St. Boniface of Mentz to conjoined Saxon writing, has been recorded in a letter addressed to Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, requesting to have a copy of the books of the Prophets, which the Abbot Wymbert, his master, had left there; in which he says, that this book being written in clear and distinct characters, was better fitted for his age, as his eyes could not easily read the small conjoined character. We have here, therefore, a proof, that the Saxon writing with the letters not conjoined then existed in England, and was perfectly distinguished from the conjoined writing in the time of Boniface, in the eighth century.

The manuscript which has furnished the present specimen*, although a century later in date, is a still further proof of what is here advanced. This volume contains a work indicated in the first line of the fac-simile, *Incipit ars P[ri]sciani Gra[m]matici Caesariensis, liber primus, de Voce.* It is the Latin Grammar of Priscian of Cesaræa, who, about A.D. 525, presided over a school at Constantinople, which became famous for its great number of scholars. The work itself is not less famous, and numerous very ancient manuscripts of it are in existence in all parts of Latin Europe. Until the revival of letters, scarcely any other grammar of the Latin language was used; and it was on the same account that this was one of the first works which issued from the printing-press; the first edition of it having appeared

* Preserved in the library at Carlsruhe, No. 223.—Ed.

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in 1470. The present manuscript proves that the grammar of Priscian was studied also in Christian Ireland, where copies of it were written in the national character. The fac-simile, in fact, exhibits a specimen of Irish-Saxon writing with the letters not joined together. The first line of the text is in large letters with thick strokes, rather rounded; the words are divided; the strokes short, truncated in the first word, and terminating in a fine hair-line in the others; the tall up-strokes are also thick and truncated. It is to be read,—*Philosophi diffiniunt vocem esse aerem tenuissimu*[*m*]. The initial P is of gigantic size, and composed of a straight stroke terminated at each end by a spiral hair-line; the body of the letter forming a triangle, the upper stroke of which is much prolonged, and terminates in a grotesque head; the open part of the letter containing two smaller triangles, formed of double strokes*.

The remainder of the text is a detached uneven minuscule, sometimes close together, but generally wide, angular, pointed, and extremely irregular; the strokes of the *i*, *m*, and *n*, very acute at the bottom; *a* open, as in Lombardic writing, and distinguished only from the *u* by its curved strokes; the top-strokes thickened at the ends and bent backwards; the sign *&* of the antique form; the sign for *autem* very remarkable (*line* 4, *accidit autem*†), and the abbreviations rather numerous

The capitals at the foot of the Plate are not less singular,

* The MM. Champollion omit to notice the row of red dots which surround the letter, and which form a remarkable feature in Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS. In the present instance a line of similar dots is also above and below the first line of the text.—Ed.

† The French editors are here mistaken. This is not the sign for *autem*, (which occurs, however, in the next line, Vocis *autem*,) but for *enim*, which is of constant occurrence in Irish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. We have here also a sign resembling the figure 2, for *est*, either separate or compounded, (as *potest*, line 4); the reversed *c* (ɔ) for *con*, and the barred *l* for *vel*.—Ed.

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and the majority have their open spaces ornamented with colored roundels. It would be difficult to meet with an earlier* specimen of Irish-Saxon writing than the present, which is of the ninth century, and of very characteristic appearance.

PLATE CCXXII.

GERMANO-SAXON MINUSCULE WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

MORALS ON JOB, BY POPE GREGORY THE GREAT.

SEVERAL learned writers have discussed at great length the Teutonic national writing, but the diversity of their sentiments united to the unanimity of their efforts to discover a peculiar writing among the different nations of Germanic origin, have demonstrated an opinion precisely opposite; confirming the Roman origin of the different alphabets derived from the ancient monuments of this vast country. The Roman writing, in common use both in Italy and Gaul even before the invasion of the Franks, could not have remained unknown to the Germans; and this conjecture has become a positive fact, since the discovery of several manuscripts in the cathedral at Würtzburg, which are written in the Teutonic-Saxon minuscule derived from the Roman, and more ancient than the reign of Pepin le Bref.

From the time of Charlemagne, the Teutonic writing was established by the authority of this great monarch, and the Roman minuscule became more and more general in the imperial documents and acts of public authority, as well as

* How erroneous this is, may be seen by the remarks made on Plates CCXII—CCXIV.—ED.

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by the practice of the numerous scribes, who were called into employment by the temporary renovation of letters during the reign of Charlemagne. This Roman writing was retained, and preserved its regularity during several centuries, of which some fine specimens will be found in the present work.

A different and external influence operated, however, on letters in Germany, previous to the time of Charlemagne. The Roman writing apparently had found its way into Great Britain before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, as it had done in France before the settlement of the Franks. This writing in the hands of the Anglo-Saxons became modified by degrees, until it was characterized by the peculiar form of some of its letters, sufficient to constitute a special kind of writing, generally termed Anglo-Saxon, but not sufficiently distinct from the Roman forms to disguise its undoubted origin. The Anglo-Saxon Benedictines* travelled into different regions of Germany to preach the Christian faith, and carried with them the Anglo-Saxon writing; extending its influence and spreading it by their own example. There are still preserved in the cathedral of Würtzburg several manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon minuscule writing, in the hand-writing of these apostolical missionaries and their disciples. Two equally national kinds of writing, therefore, existed thenceforth in Germany, the Roman and the Anglo-Saxon; and the scribes doubtless employed themselves in practising either or both, according to the taste or fashion of the time. The Saxon writing, indeed, must have suffered the most from the orders of Charlemagne, in proportion as it was further removed from the Roman forms, which he restored to honor; the scribes of Germano-Saxon, therefore, became fewer in number as the Roman was adopted; and the recollection of the Saxon was preserved only by means of some of its most characteristic

* The labors of the Irish ecclesiastics on the continent are invariably omitted to be noticed by the MM. Champollion.—Ed.

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letters, which still remained mingled with the ordinary Roman minuscules.

In the general classification of writings, this mixture forms a special class in the Germanic family. The fac-simile in the Plate is a remarkable specimen of this kind of writing. The Saxon character and taste are conspicuous in its ornaments, and in some of its words, although others are entirely written in Roman minuscules. The mixture of the two is, in fact, the leading feature of this text.

It is written in the Germano-Saxon minuscule letter; very slightly conjoined, divided in its words, acute, sloping, equal, and wide; the top-strokes angular; the letters *f, r, s, g, e,* retaining their Saxon forms, and the first three extending in a point below the line; abbreviations are not uncommon; *ae* are separate in *suæ* and *quæ;* no punctuation, except where the marks indicate abbreviations, as *q.* for *que; r* is sometimes used for *l,* and *p* for *b,* as in *purchrius,* (line 3,) and *suptilius,* (line 5). All the large letters have also the Saxon forms, and the first line is in capitals of the same kind, ornamented with red dots and colored. The initial S, gigantically prolonged, terminates at the bottom in claws, and is ornamented on the outside, near the summit, with scroll-work; its open part is decorated with a pattern of different colors, and the top-stroke finishes with a volute, ending in two monstrous heads. The second line is in mixed uncials, and the text is to be read:—

S. [*Sancti*] VIRI QUO apud $\overline{\text{dm}}$ [*Deum*] altius virtutum dignitate proficiunt, eo suptilius indignos se esse deprehendunt, quia dum proximi lucis fiunt, quid quid eos in seipsis levat, inveniunt, et tanto magis foras sibi deformes apparent, quanto nimis purchrius quod intus vident, *etc.*

This is the commencement of the 32nd book of the Commentaries of St. Gregory on the book of Job. On the top of the page represented in the fac-simile, is written in an ancient minuscule hand, *Iste lib*[*er*] *ē* [*est*] $\overline{\text{sce}}$ *Marie et* $\overline{\text{sci}}$ *Cor-*

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bi[*niani*] *Frisi*[*n*]*ge*[*nsis*]; the manuscript having formerly belonged to the cathedral at Freisingen, but it is now in the royal library at Munich. The scribe has informed us, that his name is *Peregrinus**.

PLATE CCXXIII.

ANGLO-SAXON WRITING OF IRELAND.

XTH CENTURY.

COMMENTARIES OF ST. JEROME ON ISAIAH.

It is a received tradition among the learned in England, that Ireland had a share in the benefits conferred by King Alfred the Great, and that a great number of copies of Latin manuscripts were executed in that country during the reign of this monarch, and in the succeeding century, that is to say, during the last quarter of the ninth and the whole of the tenth centuries. Manuscripts also are exhibited in the public libraries of England, attributed to the sixth and four following centuries, in which the Anglo-Saxon writing is wholly employed, and of this the Irish writing is only a variety.

It is certain that Alfred the Great, after having restored peace to his kingdom, applied himself unceasingly to the advancement of literature, and added example to precept by applying his varied and profound knowledge to the composition of several works, establishing a code of laws, translating from the Latin into Anglo-Saxon the *Pastorale* of St. Gregory, the *De Consolatione* of Boethius, and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Venerable Bede. He also undertook a

* See Von Aretin's *Beyträge zur Geschichte u. Literatur*, bd. 7., p. 520.—Ed.

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translation of the Bible, of which the Psalter alone was executed, and established schools of grammar and philosophy at Oxford; whence he has been regarded as the founder of the celebrated university of that city.

The Anglo-Saxon language and writing were national institutions in the countries which now compose the three united kingdoms; the peculiar forms of this kind of writing originated in local taste, and notwithstanding the unity of their origin, (all being essentially Roman in their characteristic forms,) we are compelled to recognize these varieties, the most marked of which is the Irish.

The history of Irish writing differs from that of the Anglo-Saxon, properly so called. Ireland, in fact, was not always united to England; during the period of her freedom, she preserved her national taste and customs. The Normans under William the Conqueror did not occupy the country, and consequently the French writing was not mingled with the Irish, as was the case with the Anglo-Saxon, which soon after fell into oblivion; and when, in 1172, Henry II. conquered Ireland, the national style of writing was not renounced, and Irish manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth century still existing prove that it was retained up to the latter period*.

The manuscript which has furnished the present fac-simile lays claim to a much earlier date, and if we adopt the opinion and judgment of English literati on manuscripts written in Irish characters, we should refer it to the ninth century. It is true, that manuscripts in this character are more numerous in England than in any other part of Europe, and that a careful comparison of them affords the best means for the determination of their age, especially if (as may be the case) any of them bear precise dates. Without, however, expressing too decided a mistrust in the opinions which may be somewhat influenced

* It has never become obsolete, but is retained up to the present time. —Ed.

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by national prejudices, it would appear desirable, that a more critical examination of these manuscripts should be made, since we adhere to the precepts generally adopted in France on this difficult palæographical question, and must be content to share the reproaches occasionally addressed to some of the learned editors of the catalogues of our manuscripts, of being too parsimonious in the amount of antiquity accorded to these precious volumes. We therefore prefer attributing the present manuscript to the tenth century.

We here perceive another kind of Irish minuscule writing, with full strokes, approaching to the rounded form; with the letters and words divided; strong and angular; the top-strokes thick, with their summits, as well as those of the *i* and *u;* the first stroke of the *m* and *n* are bent towards the left, and obliquely truncated; the tail-strokes short and pointed. Two forms of the *a* may be remarked, one resembling the italic *a*, the other open, as in Carlovingian writing. Many of the letters are conjoined, which renders the text difficult to be read; abbreviations also abound, and are another source of difficulty; the *c* reversed (ɔ) stands for *con;* a stroke between two dots (÷) for *est;* $\overline{h}$ for *hæc;* $\overline{dr}$ for *dicitur;* *g* retains its Anglo-Saxon form, (which is also Lombardic,) but the recurved tail is sometimes united to the first stroke of *n* or *i*, so as to resemble the figure 8, as in the word *magnum*, (line 2), and has a peculiar form, as in *Moyses*, (line 13). The capital L also in *Levate* (line 20,) deserves notice. Lastly, a dot at the end of a word occasionally indicates that it is contracted. Sometimes the syllables of a word are written separately, as though the scribe was ignorant of the Latin language.

This fine Irish manuscript is written upon vellum, and contains a work much read and often copied in the middle ages, the *Commentary of St. Jerome upon Isaiah.* It belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. (*Suppl. Lat.* No. 880.)

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PLATES CCXXIV., CCXXV.

SAXON-CAROLINE WRITING.

XTH CENTURY.

SACRAMENTARIUM OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT.

We have already had occasion to allude in this work to the name and illustrious memory of Pope Gregory I., to whom posterity has given the surname of Great. His services both to the state and to the church have rendered him justly celebrated; and among the latter benefits are to be included the memorable reforms introduced by him in the year 599, not only into ecclesiastical music and ceremonies, but also into the entire liturgy and offices of the Romish Church. This holy Pope composed a *Pastorale*, a *Sacramentarium*, a *Benedictionale*, a book of *Responses*, and an *Antiphonarium*. The historians of music have also given to this pontiff a large space in the annals of the art, in which his system still preserves the name of the Gregorian chant.

The fine manuscript from which the present fac-simile is copied contains his *Sacramentarium*, and bears the title of *Liber Sacramentorum*. Hugues Ménard, who published it in 1642, supposed that the *Sacramentarium* was a different work from the *Liber Sacramentorum*, but the learned Baluze put an end to these doubts, by declaring that the two titles indicated one and the same treatise of Pope Gregory I. (*Capitular.*, tom. ii., 1206.) It is to be found entire, in the last complete edition of his Works, published by the Benedictines in 1705, in four folio volumes, the learned editors of which were too careful in investigating the manuscripts of Pope Gregory's writings to have neglected the one before us, which, in fact, they parti-

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cularly consulted. The volume then belonged to the monastery of Saint-Thierry du Mont d'Or, near Rheims, and bore the No. 63 in the catalogue of the library of that monastery; it is now deposited in the communal library of Rheims, and numbered 320. Another manuscript of the same work was also found with it, and both were communicated by the Archbishop Letellier to the editors of the new edition of St. Gregory's Works, who were of opinion that the MS., No. 62, was rather more ancient than No. 63, and that the latter was executed for the monastery of Notre-Dame of Soissons; that there were in both manuscripts various masses of Saint Thierry inserted, and that in the order for the benediction of an abbot, no mention was made in either of the mitre, pastoral staff, or ring, or of the pompous ceremonial subsequently introduced into the ritual for these abbatial benedictions.

The same Benedictine authors attribute these two manuscripts to the ninth century, because the insurrection of the people of Rome against Pope Leo III., who died in 816, appears recorded in them as a recent event. But this passage may have been successively transcribed from one manuscript into another of different ages; and it would appear difficult to fix the date of the manuscript No. 63 of Saint-Thierry (No. 320 of Rheims,) earlier than the first half of the tenth century*.

The first of these (Plate CCXXIV.) contains only the single word VERE; but the remarkable border with which it is surrounded, renders the page complete. It presents a beautiful example of Anglo-Saxon capital letters. The large V has its upright strokes made very broad, and ornamented with contrasted colors and gold, knots, and interlaced work; the

* The writing and ornamental execution of this manuscript are precisely similar to that of the Bible of Charles le Chauve, represented in Pl. CLXXI., and the present volume is doubtless of the same period, namely, the middle of the *ninth* century, and ought to have been included in the series of palæographical specimens of France.—Ed.

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strokes being rounded at the base, and united by trellice-work, terminating in dogs' heads; and at the summit surmounted by an interlaced pattern in the shape of a reversed heart, ending in a dog's head on one side, and in a volute on the other. This letter is bordered throughout with red* dots, and is inclosed in a frame-work, resembling in its details those of the letter, and its corners ornamented with quatrefoils, filled with trellice-work and foliage. Within the interior of the letter V are introduced the letters ERE in square Anglo-Saxon capitals, terminating in arrow-heads, drawn upon a red ground, tessellated in small squares, with a lozenge border. All this is an imitation of the fine Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the eighth century; but the trellice-work and knots are characteristic of the works of the ninth and following centuries. The second Plate (CCXXV.) exhibits a specimen of the text of the same manuscript, in which the minuscule Caroline writing will easily be recognized, which was so generally used, and of which there are so many manuscripts still in existence, executed under the second race of French kings. Several varieties of this writing have been pointed out by palæographers.

The first eight lines of the text are equal in height to the fine Anglo-Saxon initial C (which closely resembles in its form, colors, and ornaments, the V above described), and differ from the writing of the subsequent part of the fac-simile written across the page; the former being upright and wide, whilst the latter is slanting and close; the latter also has the letters much more conjoined than the former, and is less massive. Both, however, are acute, with the words semi-divided; the strokes terminating in points turned either to the right or left; the top-strokes clavate, and much bent towards the left; the tails short and pointed; a dot separating the sentences. Capitals, either Roman or uncials, occur at the

* The French editors carelessly write *black*.—Ed.

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commencement of the *alineæ*, outside of the perpendicular line of the text; letters in small rustic Roman capitals are introduced into the text; N of the uncial form appears in the middle of some of the words; *&* at the commencement of the word *a&ernam* (line 12) is worthy of notice; the *y* is dotted; whilst the angular tops of the *e*, *n*, *u*, *i*, shew the earliest deformities of the fine Caroline minuscule in the eleventh century, when this degradation had already become apparent.

PLATE CCXXVI.

SAXON WRITING.

XTH CENTURY.

LATIN GOSPELS OF THE BIBLIOTHEQUE ROYALE AT PARIS.

We have rarely had an opportunity of presenting to the amateurs of art in the middle ages so rich and perfect an example of palæography as that given in the present Plate, which contains three varieties of Saxon writing. This writing was in use at the same time in England, France, and Germany. The English have considered it as their national writing, from the period of their conversion to Christianity up to the Norman Conquest, and it is not therefore surprising that the learned in England should have made it a patriotic duty to publish the finest specimens of this graphic system, taken from the manuscripts contained in their libraries. Among others, Thomas Astle has published* several elaborate specimens of large ornamental letters, illuminated by Anglo-Saxon artists, particularly the letters forming the commencement of the Gospel of St. Luke, from a magnificent manuscript in the

* *The Origin and Progress of Writing*, &c., 2nd edit., London, 1803. 4to.

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Cottonian library*, which the learned author supposes to have been written about the year 686. His Plates XIII. and XIV. contain examples of all the characters employed in this valuable manuscript, which constitute a singular series of elements of Anglo-Saxon palæography during the seventh century.

Without attributing the same antiquity to the manuscript in Saxon writing of the Bibliothèque Royale (No. 693), we nevertheless consider that this volume will well bear comparison with that of the Cottonian library, if not in respect of its minuscule writing, at least on account of its ornamental and majuscule letters.

At the head of the page represented in the Plate is written the words, INCIPIT EVANGELIUM SECUNDU[M] MATTHEUM, in red semi-uncial Saxon letters, such as were in use during several centuries for the texts, and in the later period of Saxon writing, for the titles and headings of chapters.

The striking group of gigantic letters introduced into the first line of the title contain the word LIBER; the letters LIB being conjoined, and ER distinct. It is only by a minute examination that the admirable precision of the ornaments with which the open spaces of these three letters are occupied, resembling marqueterie of the finest execution, can be justly appreciated. The numerous pearl-like spiral ornaments of these letters, from their excessive delicacy, imply an extraordinary skill on the part of the draftsman, which the able artist, M. Girault, has admirably imitated in the engraved fac-simile before us. The fifth letter, R, is in outline, and terminates in spiral lines.

The first letter of the word following, G, is also in outline, pearled and vari-colored, and the remainder of the word GENERATIONIS is in Saxon capitals, some of which are remarkable for their forms, such as the A, T, and O.

The remainder of the Latin text is in minuscule Saxon writing, with thick strokes, rather rounded and sharp, mingled

* Nero D. IV. See Plate CCXIII.—ED.

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with some hair-strokes; the words but half divided and unequal; diagonally truncated; the tails short, and truncated in the same manner; the top-strokes massive, and irregularly curved, clavate and obliquely truncated; the *r* formed like *n*; and the *e* and *s* exceeding the size of the other letters, without top-strokes or tails. The first letter of each verse is an uncial of the same kind, occasionally ornamented with network, with short top-strokes, truncated or convex. The word *autem*, so often repeated in the text, is not expressed by the ordinary Anglo-Saxon abbreviation, which would lead us to suppose that this manuscript was not of English origin. It is not easy to fix its date, and notwithstanding the attempts which have been made to refer it to the eighth century, and even to a period still nearer to the days of St. Jerome*, we believe that this fine volume is not earlier than the tenth century†; it belongs, without doubt, to the period when the Saxon writing had become most unlike the Roman; and the specimens given by Astle of the period during which Saxon writing flourished most, may serve to justify our opinion. The fac-simile contains the commencement of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and is to be read thus:—

LIBER GENERATIONIS Ihu̅ Xp̅i [*Jhesu Christi*] filii David, filii Abraham. Abraham genuit Isac; Isac autem genuit Jacob, *etc.*

* It has been asserted even, that this manuscript was copied from the original Latin text of St. Jerome.

† In this judgment the MM. Champollion are certainly in error, as pointed out by Westwood in his *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, who notices, that the style of the ornaments in this MS. resemble much that of the Gospels preserved at Trinity College, Dublin, said to have been written by St. Columba, at the close of the sixth century; and that both manuscripts contain the Vulgate text, instead of the mixed Italic version, usually found in Irish MSS. It seems, however, impossible, on comparing the writing in the Plate with other Hiberno-Saxon examples of writing, to assign an earlier date to it than to the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Book of Kells, or the Gospels of St. Chad. The *eighth* century would seem, therefore, to be as early a date as the angular and irregular forms of part of the minuscules can fairly claim.—ED.

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PLATE CCXXVII.

ANGLO-SAXON WRITING.

X^TH CENTURY.

PONTIFICAL OF EGBERT, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

In the year 827, King Egbert (a descendant from Cerdic, the founder of the kingdom of Wessex,) who was educated in the court of Charlemagne, succeeded in uniting by his fortunate exploits and prudent policy, all the states of the Heptarchy into one kingdom, to which he gave the name of England. He had a brother, also named Egbert*, whom he appointed Archbishop of York, and who composed a Pontifical for the use of his church; this term being applied to the book containing the prayers and ceremonial forms used at the ordination, confirmation, and other functions belonging to bishops and archbishops.

It is from this Pontifical of the Archbishop of York that the two pages represented in the present Plate have been copied. The manuscript is not, indeed, contemporary with Egbert, but is a century later than his times, and belongs to the tenth century.

One of the pages in the Plate contains the title of the work, written alternately in red and black lines; a character of antiquity supported also by the fine vermilion initials which abound in the volume, as well as the numerous titles and passages written in the same color. This title†, in fine square capital letters, is to be read:—

* A great error, as well as anachronism, is here committed by the French editors. Egbert of York was brother of *Eadbert*, king of Northumbria, and held the see from A.D. 735 to A.D. 766, the period of his death. He is celebrated in literary history as the instructor of Alcuin.—Ed.

† This title must not cause the work to be confounded with the *Ex-*

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EXCARPSVM DE CANONIBVS CATHOLICORVM PATRV[M] VEL PÆNITENTIÆ, AD REMEDIVM ANIMARVM, DOMNI EGGBERHTI ARCHIEPI EBVRA[CI] CIVITATIS.

Some of the letters of this title, as the C, A, and G, are of the peculiar forms belonging to the Anglo-Saxon writing, and the whole constitutes, according to the Benedictines, the third species of Anglo-Saxon capitals. They are tall, square, well-proportioned, and regular. This kind of writing was in use from the eighth century. The title is terminated by three wedge-shaped dots.

The text of the second page is to be read :—

INSTITUTIO ILLA QUÆ FIEBAT in diebus patrum nrorum [*nostrorum*] rectas vias numquam deseruit, qui instituerunt penitentibus atque lugentib*us* suas passiones ac vitia medicamenta salutis æterne. Quia diversitas culparum diversitatem facit penitentibus medicamentum, vel sicut medici corporum diversa medicamina vel potiones solent facere contra diversitatem infirmitatum, vel judices sæcularium causarum diversarum. Igitur judicia qui boni sunt et qui recti pensant, adque tractant, quomodo recti judicent inter miseros et divites, inter causa*m* et causam. Quanto magis ô sacerdotes dī [*Dei*], diversa medicamenta ani[*marum hominibus pensare oporteat*].

The text is written in Gallican Anglo-Saxon minuscule writing, with thick strokes, round and massive, and with the words divided; the *e* open, the *ae* united; the *r* has the form of *n*, with the first stroke prolonged below the line, as is also the *f*. There is no mixture of uncial letters. This very fine writing bears evident marks of successive advances to perfection, which justifies the date assigned to this manuscript.

Although the writing of this volume is the Gallican Anglo-Saxon, the Pontifical of Egbert was, nevertheless, executed in England. The Anglo-Saxon minuscule writing was in general use among the English from the reign of Alfred the Great, but it is well known that they made frequent use of

cerptiones Ecgberti ex dictis et canonibus sanctorum patrum, etc., with which it has no connexion. See the latter in Thorpe's *Monumenta Ecclesiastica Anglicana*, 8vo., Lond. 1840, p. 343.—ED.

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the Gallican Anglo-Saxon during the tenth and eleventh centuries, previous to the Norman conquest. Such is the opinion of the learned Hickes and of the Benedictines, and it is fully confirmed by the palæographic monuments now existing.

The Pontifical of the Archbishop of York belongs to this class of manuscripts. It has been particularly useful to the historians of the ancient liturgy of the Christian Churches; to Dom Martene, who gave many extracts from it,* and to Dom Mabillon, in his *Annales Ordinis Benedictini.* William of Malmsbury speaks of Egbert, in his work *de Gestis Pontificum;* and Wilkins has printed the text of the *Pœnitentiale,* composed by the same Egbert; a ritual useful in times when public penance was in full vigor.

This rare and precious manuscript belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. (*Suppl. Lat.* No. 138.)

PLATES CCXXVIII., CCXXIX.

CAROLINE MINUSCULE WRITING OF ENGLAND.

X^TH AND XITH CENTURIES.

LATIN BENEDICTIONAL AND MISSAL OF THE LIBRARY OF ROUEN.

Two manuscripts, already rendered famous by the researches of learned palæographers, form the subject of the present notice, and have furnished the specimens in the two accompanying Plates.

The learned Père Morin, of the Oratoire, the Abbé Saas,

* In his work *de Antiquis ecclesiæ Ritibus,* 1736, fol., from a MS. ascribed to the year 950, "*ex bibl. ecclesiæ Ebroicensis;*" perhaps the same with the one described above.—ED.

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in 1746, the Abbé Gourdin, in 1812, and, more recently, the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, in 1818, have all written on the subject of these two precious volumes*, and the various opinions expressed, in regard to their age and origin, render it necessary to direct special attention to them.

Concerning the Benedictional (Pl. CCXXVIII.), some collateral questions have been examined, and traditions collected, one of which may particularly be noticed, on account of its antiquity and authenticity. This is an item found in a catalogue of the books of the cathedral of Rouen, drawn up in the twelfth century, during the time of Archbishop Geoffroy, in which this Benedictional is expressly mentioned, under the title of *Benedictionarius Roberti archiepiscopi.* Now, there was an Archbishop of Rouen of this name, who died in 1037; and this prelate might have given to his metropolitan church this fine Benedictional, which was probably written for his use. A grave objection, however, to this opinion, is derived from the text of the volume itself, which contains in addition to the *Benedictional,* a *Pontifical,* at the end of which are prayers for the coronation of the Anglo-Saxon kings and queens. This, of course, authorises the inference, that the manuscript is of Anglo-Saxon origin, and intended for an English church; and in support of this opinion history records another Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was born and buried in Normandy, also in the eleventh century. Notwithstanding this fact, Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, is considered as the donor of this volume to his cathedral church. It has since passed into the library of the city, where it is now preserved, (No. 27,) and called the *Benedictional of Æthelgar.*

The manuscript appears to us to be two centuries earlier

* To these names may be added that of John Gage Rokewode, whose dissertation on the Rouen Benedictional was published in the *Archæologia,* vol. xxiv., pp. 118—136, accompanied by plates. In his opinion, the Rouen manuscript was written by the monks of Winchester, and executed for their Abbot Æthelgar, who, in 977, was made Bishop of Selsey, and in 989 translated to Canterbury.—Ed.

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than the catalogue above referred to. Père Morin, indeed, referred it to the eighth century, but this is at once disproved by the entry of the name of St. Swithin (who died in 862) in the Litany.

If the characters of the writing of this Benedictional are carefully examined, we recognize a strong and massive Caroline minuscule, with rounded letters, slightly sloping to the left; the tops of the strokes forming an angle in the same direction, and their bases terminated by a hair-stroke curved upwards; the upper-strokes and tails rather short, the former thickened at top, and obliquely truncated, the others rectangularly or diagonally; the letters *s* and *t* are united, (ſt); *t* resembles *c*, but with a curved top-stroke. Some Anglo-Saxon uncials are mingled with the Roman minuscules; the abbreviations are few and ordinary, and the words semi-distinct, some being more widely separated. Fine Roman capitals and small uncial writing occur in the headings and titles, and a splendid border, composed of double rectangular bars of gold, forming panels, ornamented with a foliaceous arabesque, and the angles with the heads of animals, surrounds the text. Three miniatures in the Roman style, and many initial letters, heightened with gold and colors, add to the value of this fine volume, which appears to belong to the second-half of the tenth century*. Some pieces of a subsequent date have been added to it.

The Missal (Pl. CCXXIX.), which is also in the library of Rouen, (No. 34,) is evidently less ancient. We here perceive a minuscule writing analogous to, but not the same as the former, and clearly exhibiting an approach to the Gothic; the strokes of the letters being more angular, less straight, and nearly all rounded; the top-strokes more clavate, the tails terminating in a point, but the majority in an acute stroke turned upwards; the letters are very close together, and

* By an error of the engraver, the Plate is marked of the eleventh century.—Ed.

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almost conjoined, and the words divided; *et* is represented by *&*, and there are frequent abbreviations. Capital Roman letters in gold are employed as the initials of the chapters and chief divisions; carmine and vermilion being used only in the rubrics, (the majority of which are written in the Anglo-Saxon writing and language,) and for the lesser titles. We consider this volume to be a century more recent than the preceding one, having all the appearance of the fine productions of the eleventh century. The Paschal table preceding the calendar, terminates in the year 1095. This fine manuscript was presented, previous to the the year 1050, to the Abbey of Jumiéges, by Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, (previously Bishop of London,) who died in 1056; and the act of donation, written, as is said, by this prelate, is still preserved in the volume.

PLATE CCXXX.

ENGLISH DIPLOMATIC WRITING.

XITH AND XIITH CENTURIES.

CHARTERS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND HENRY II.

THE general appearance of the writing of the first of the charters in the present Plate is altogether French, and its peculiar characters unquestionably prove this origin. It is known also, from the study of English charters, that the Anglo-Saxon writing, properly so called, was used for this purpose up to the reign of Alfred the Great, but that after this period the new style of writing, which had been introduced by the authority of Charlemagne, modified the Anglo-Saxon hand, and sometimes the French style was altogether

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used. Subsequent to the eleventh century, a mixture of French and Anglo-Saxon is perceived, which diplomatists style the Anglo-Norman, or Norman-Saxon writing, since it originated in the influence of the Norman customs;—a diploma of Edward the Confessor, relative to the monastery of Saint-Denis, is in French writing, mingled with some Saxon letters. The English chronicler Ingulph states, that at the period of the Norman Conquest, the Anglo-Saxon writing had already much degenerated, which prepared the way for the subsequent success of the French writing which led to the cessation of the use of Anglo-Saxon writing in charters, both in England and Scotland. In the latter country, the most ancient diplomatic documents do not reach beyond the eleventh century; they are either in French minuscule or Gothic writing, and subsequently in the cursive Gothic, which became common all over Europe until the sixteenth century. In the first of these charters is seen the fine French Capetian writing, as introduced into the royal documents of England. It is regular, large, divided, and ornate; the top-strokes tall, forked, and truncated obliquely, or in a curve; the tails long, pointed, or in hooks, and turned to the left, with numerous ordinary abbreviations. The first line is written in rustic Roman capitals, with long strokes. This specimen is copied from a charter by which William de Warenna and his wife, Gundreda, gave certain possessions in England to the church of Cluny, as confirmed by William I., with the reservation of his royal rights. The invocation, IN NOMINE DN̄I N̄RI JESU XP̄I, is one of the simplest formulæ to be met with, and the King merely assumes the title of King of the English, by the grace of God. The majority of English charters make no mention of the seal, but this one expressly declares, that the King has confirmed the donation with his seal, (*sigillo nostro signâtam,*) and a rectangular cut at the foot of the piece of parchment represented in the Plate, shews the place where the

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royal seal was probably attached; the signature of the monarch is not mentioned in the charter, but it is made at the foot of the text. Both before and after the Conquest these signatures consisted only of a cross, sometimes made by the King, but oftener by the notary or his chancellor. Here the signatures, *i. e.*, the crosses, occur in great number, there being as many as twelve, but nine are evidently by the same hand, notwithstanding their variety of form, as, for instance, those which precede the subscriptions *Signu[m] Will[el]mi regis Anglor[um]*; *Signu[m] M. [Mathildis] regine Anglor[um]*; *S. Will[el]mi Comitis, filii regis.* It is the same also with the donors themselves, William de Warenna and Gundreda, his wife; also Roger de Mortimer, Robert de Beaumont, Henry de Beaumont, and Robert Gifard; but the three other crosses (those of the three witnesses, Geoffroy de Caumont, Raoul, the seneschal (*Dapifer,*) and Maurice, the chancellor,) are *autograph;* these three having severally signed the document, although the words which accompany their crosses are in the same hand as those of the other signatures. The signatures are placed according to rank; the King, Queen, the King's son, his daughter, and her husband, are arranged to the right, preserving their genealogical rank.

The signature of the chancellor is nearest to the royal names; the seneschal is to the left of the chancellor; and the other witnesses sign in the same line*. In all these signatures the cross precedes the names; the contrary, however, sometimes happens, and occasionally the cross is placed in the midst of the letters which compose the name; when it precedes them, in the body of the text, it is a simple mark of honor and respect.

This charter is not dated, but Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, is

* Not so; these signatures are in two lines, and that of Geoffroy de Caumont is nearly parallel with the seneschal.—Ed.

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named in it*; and the signature *Signum Mauricii, Cancellarii*, recalls to mind the establishment of a college of scribes or secretaries by William the Conqueror, the head of which was styled the Chancellor.

The charter No. 2. is of the reign of Henry II. (1148—1189). The fine Capetian writing of the former charter has here become semi-Gothic, acute, deformed with superfluous strokes, and the tails and top-strokes twisted backwards; capitals are introduced in profusion, and are tall, narrow, and ill-formed.

The specimen No. 3. is taken from another original of the last mentioned charter; the writing is less Gothic, but the same elongated top-strokes occur, bent back or truncated with a hook, and the same deformity in the numerous capitals. Attached are the remains of a large royal seal, with an equestrian figure on each side. This charter is dated at Westminster, whilst the former is dated at Chinon. Perhaps this difference of place may explain the difference in the writing of the two documents.

PLATE CCXXXI.

GALLICAN AND ANGLO-SAXON MINUSCULE WRITING.

XIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

LATIN AND ANGLO-SAXON PSALTER OF JOHN, DUKE OF BERRY.

In previous articles of this work† we have spoken of the bad repute with which history has invested the name of John,

* His name does not appear in the fac-simile.—Ed.

† See Plates CXCV., CXCVI.—Ed.

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Duke of Berry, the third son of the King of France of the same name, on account of his foolish profusion and thoughtless extravagances. It is, however, to this profuse expenditure, that France is indebted for a considerable number of *chefs-d'œuvre*, which hold an important place in the history of the arts of the middle ages in France; so that it must be admitted, that had Duke John been more economical, although history might have noticed him more favorably, the annals of the arts would have omitted him altogether.

The manuscript from which the present fac-simile is copied, is one of the volumes obtained (probably at a very high price) by Duke John for his library at Bourges, and appears to have been among the number which the prince, towards the close of his life, particularly in the year 1406, gave to the Sainte Chapelle of that city; and a list is still extant of the manuscripts delivered at that time by Robinet d'Etampes to Arnoul Belin, the treasurer, and to the canons of this church, pursuant to the orders of the Duke. Another document, not less curious for the history of these manuscripts, is the copy of the inventory of the books in the library of the Sainte Chapelle of Bourges, drawn up 17th November, 1552, in which we recognize many of the volumes mentioned in the list of 1406. Lastly, a third list made in the middle of the last century contains the titles of most of the fine manuscripts indicated in the earliest account; and the third article of this list is as follows, "*Les Heures du Duc Jean, reliées en long; à côté du Latin il y a une colonne d'une traduction, qu'on croit d'ancien Anglo-Saxon ou d'Hongrois.*"

This note, doubtless, alludes to the fine manuscript before us, and would demonstrate its origin even if other evidence did not indicate it to us; at all events, it informs us, that according to tradition, this volume was used by Duke John; but we believe that it is also the one alluded to in the seventh article of the inventory of 1406, as "*un ancien Psautier long,*

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historié, d'ouvrage romain: au commencement David jouant de la harpe, et sur les feuilles sont peintes les armes de France et de Boulogne; sans aucun fermoir." The same words are also found in the inventory of the Duke's library, drawn up in 1402.

This manuscript was therefore one of those given to the Sainte Chapelle on the 6th July, 1406. It is, in fact, a Psalter, of a *long*, very narrow folio form, containing the Latin text, accompanied by an ancient Anglo-Saxon translation, with several coats-of-arms of France and Boulogne, painted with gold and colors on the edges of the leaves; but the figure of David is wanting, as well as the commencement of the manuscript, which probably was lost when the volume was removed from the church of Bourges to the Bibliothèque Royale, about the middle of the last century, since which time it has been bound in red morocco, with the arms of France on the back. (*Suppl. Lat.*, No. 333.)

In its present state the volume consists of 196 leaves of fine white vellum, and contains the Psalms of David, with litanies and prayers at the end; the last page having at its foot the inscription, *Ce livre est au Duc de Berry*, followed by the signature of the Prince, JEHAN, copied in the Plate. On the *verso* of the original fly-leaf we read, in large ill-formed letters, *Psalterium in ydiomate peregrino*, and below it, in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules, *Istud Psalterium dicitur romanum, et est in . . . ydioma barbarum.*

The text is written in double columns, in the first of which are the Latin psalms, in a fine Gallican minuscule, strong, tall, and truncated; the top-strokes clavate; the words scarcely divided; the letters not conjoined; and the tails truncated horizontally. Roman capitals, alternately in gold and colors, are used as initials, written outside the perpendicular line of the text. The second column is the Anglo-Saxon version of the Latin text. This is also written in Gallican

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minuscules, similar to the Latin, but mixed with some Anglo-Saxon letters, such as the *g*, *r*, etc.; and we know that after the Norman Conquest, the Gallican writing came by degrees into ordinary use in England, in which, however, the peculiar national letters were still retained, as appears from the manuscript before us, which is generally assigned to the twelfth century*. In the fourteenth century, Duke John resided for nine years in England as a hostage, after the treaty of Brétigny, when he probably obtained this manuscript, which has often been consulted by the learned of Great Britain as a precious document of palæography and language.

PLATE CCXXXII.

ENGLISH MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

END OF THE XIVTH CENTURY.

INVENTORIUM MEDICINÆ OF GUI DE CHAULIAC, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

THE name of Gui de Chauliac, a French chirurgien, and a native of the village of the same name, in the ancient Gévaudan (Lozère), occurs in biographical and bibliographical works as the author of a Latin work intitled *Inventorium*, &c., the first editions of which (often subsequently reprinted) appeared in 1490, 1498, and 1499, and which has been translated into French; but the authors of these useful compilations have not mentioned the English translation of the same *Inventorium*, made about the time of the author himself, at the close of the

* More probably of the eleventh century. The entire volume has been edited by Mr. B. Thorpe, 8vo. Oxon., 1835.—ED.

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fourteenth century, of which the manuscript before us is a copy*. This manuscript is a large folio volume on vellum, composed of 190 leaves, written in double columns, and ornamented with miniatures, vignettes, and colored initials.

The entire treatise of the French chirurgien is contained in this translation, by means of which England became acquainted with a work, which, even in the lifetime of its author, was regarded as eminently scientific and practical, and which has rendered his name ever since famous in the annals of medicine, as the restorer of the chirurgical art.

Gui de Chauliac rose to the highest eminence in his profession; he studied at Montpellier, where he graduated, and Bologna—the university of which was then very celebrated,—then practised at Lyons, and at length settled at Avignon, where he died, after having been the physician of three Popes (from 1342 to 1370), namely, of Clement VI., Innocent VI. (both natives of Limoges), and Urban V., a fellow countryman of Gui, and distinguished for his magnificence, charity, justice, and severity against the disorderly clergy.

The *Inventorium* of medicine and surgery was composed about the year 1363, and is divided into seven books; the English version precisely follows the original in its arrangement.

The fac-simile represents the beauty of the volume from which it is taken, but the names both of the English translator, and of the artist who executed so fine a copy, remain unknown. Each page is divided into two columns, ruled with a plummet, surrounded and bounded by single lines, which determine the size of the page. From the large illuminated initials are drawn borders in vertical lines, ornamented with leaves or branches, which spring from them, and extend the whole length of the open space between the columns, terminating in flourishes and foliaceous arabesques.

* Other copies exist among the Sloane MSS., Nos. 1 and 3666.—Ed.

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The titles of the chapters are written in vermilion, and are thus real rubrics. The fac-simile commences with one of these rubricated titles, the first of the fifth book, treating of the restoration of fractured bones. The text of this chapter commences thus,—*Brekynge forsoþe of þe bone, after Galien*, etc. The initial is a large Gothic capital B, composed of leaves artistically combined, terminated on the exterior in filagree ornaments. The initial T in the second column is of the same kind, and is taken from another chapter and page.

The body of the text is written in strong, round, modern Gothic minuscule letters, with the words separate and punctuated; the top-strokes generally short, and obliquely truncated when they are rectangular; those of the *b*, *l*, *k*, *f*, *f*, and *h*, are prolonged into a stroke turned downwards; and the tails truncated diagonally. The strokes of the letters *m*, *n*, and *r*, end in a fine hair-line, curved inwards. In a word, this writing is but slightly angular and well executed; the letters are but seldom conjoined, such as *ſt* (*st*), with very few abbreviations; so that it may be considered as a fine specimen of the Ludovician writing of the end of the fourteenth century*, which up to that period was free from the deformities of the Gothic of the two following centuries.

We must not omit to mention, that on the fly-leaf of this manuscript, pasted to the cover, is an extract from an order of parliament made in England in 1421, "por la sureté de le people," against unskilful practisers of medicine†.

* It is unquestionably of the fifteenth century, as proved by the character of the ornaments and initials. It belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, No. 7010.—Ed.

† See P. Paulin, *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibl. du Roi*, tom. iii., p. 348, and the printed *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vol. iii., p. 130.

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PLATE CCXXXIII.

IRISH WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

HOMILIES AND LIVES OF THE SAINTS, IN IRISH.

MANUSCRIPTS in the ancient Irish language are rare in England, and even in Ireland, whilst on the continent they are almost unknown. The use of a national writing in Ireland extends back to the first ages of Christianity, and perhaps to the earliest relations of Rome with that country, since the Irish writing is evidently derived from the Roman*.

Some, indeed, of the writers of Ireland, anxious to exalt the origin and antiquities of their country, have attributed to it the use of a system of writing anterior to the Roman alphabet, composed of figurative, or emblematical, rather than of phonetic signs, and reserved for deeply scientific matters†; but this opinion has not gained much ground among the learned.

The latter, on the contrary, are unanimous in believing, in common with the best Irish antiquaries, that this country received the Roman alphabet together with Christianity, and that St. Patrick, by his apostolical preaching, led the Irish to adopt both, about the middle of the fifth century. The Irish long retained their national writing, which has been classed with the Anglo-Saxon. The latter was abandoned

* The arguments on the opposite side, that the Irish alphabet is of independent formation, or derived from the Phœnician, may be found in D'Alton's paper in the *Trans. of the Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. xvi., pp. 96—103. 4to. 1830.—ED.

† Allusion is here made to the *Ogham*, or secret method of writing, respecting which see O'Conor, *Rerum Hibern. Script. Veteres*, vol. i., p. 31.—ED.

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in England towards the end of the eleventh century, and it was in the century following that the English conquered Ireland, so that it is not at all probable that they would then have introduced into that country a mode of writing which they had themselves abandoned. The most ancient Irish manuscripts, indeed, prove the use of Anglo-Saxon writing in Ireland long previous to its conquest by the English, and the manuscript before us equally proves that this writing was retained for several centuries afterwards.

The present manuscript, therefore, contrary to what happens with most others, possesses a remarkable value on account of its recent date; a work in Irish writing, executed after the middle of the fifteenth century is, in fact, a palæographical curiosity*. The Benedictines, to whom we owe this remark, describe, in reference to this subject, a manuscript sent them from Brittany by the President de Robien, containing various fragments of religious and moral writings, and numerous extracts from the sermons of St. Ambrose. St. Bernard is also cited in it; the Irish text is written in double columns, with lines of Latin occasionally preceding it; the size of the volume being 7½ inches by 9, and ornamented with numerous initial letters, of the Anglo-Saxon serpentine form†. We are led to believe, that the volume which has furnished the present fac-simile is the same which the Benedictines examined in 1757, and which belonged to the President de Robien‡, who died at that period. A recent

* This remark is made in complete ignorance of the Irish manuscripts of this and later periods, existing in the libraries of England and Ireland. —Ed.

† *Nouv. Traité de Dipl.*, tom. iii., pp. 200, 228, and 377.

‡ This conjecture is altogether erroneous, and not very creditable to the critical knowledge of the French editors. The manuscript of the President de Robien is preserved in the library of Rennes, in Brittany; and a fac-simile of it is given in Cooper's *Appendix* A to *Report on the Records*, p. 44, pl. xiii. The writing is much larger than that of the volume at Paris, and it is stated to be more than two centuries older. See also the *Cambrian Quarterly Mag.* for 1830, vol. ii., p. 41.—Ed.

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note, attached to the cover of the volume, states that it was found "*par les commissaires de la section Beaurepaire, dans une de leurs visites,*" at the period of the popular government of the sections of Paris, when the manuscript was sent to the Bibliothèque Royale. (*Anc. fonds*, No. 8175.) Notwithstanding this account, the present volume coincides in size and arrangement in double columns with de Robien's manuscript, and contains also various religious pieces, homilies on the Scriptures, and treatises of St. Ambrose, together with the lives of St. Patrick and Brigid. St. Bernard is named in it; serpentine Anglo-Saxon initials are numerous; and, what is of more consequence, the date 1441* is introduced in a note, which appears to contain the name of the scribe of that part of the volume, a specimen of which is given in the first column of the fac-simile, commencing with a large F in red.

The volume is written by several scribes, and perhaps at various periods, and its contents are not arranged in the order given by the Benedictines, but may have been altered, when the manuscript was bound, about twelve years ago†. In its present state, four different hands at least may be recognized, exclusive of some short notes, written on the margins, one of which is dated 1573.

The fac-simile exhibits three initial Anglo-Saxon serpentine letters, being three D's. The first line is in uncials of the same kind, *Fovet in principio V[ir]go M[aria] meo*, as well as the word *Domine* in the paragraph beneath, which proceeds, *quis habitabit in tabirnaculo tuo, aut quis requiecit in mo[n]te sc̄o [sancto] tuo*. The two paragraphs in the

* The date is 1443; and the note states that this tract was translated into Irish by William Maguibne [Mac Gawney], at the request of Daniel O'Connell.—Ed.

† The bindings of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque Royale bear the arms of the sovereigns who reigned when they were bound. The series is complete from the time of Charles VIII.

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second column, *De f[or]nicac[i]one* xxi., and *De perseverа[n]cia*, xxii., are two chapters from a treatise of St. Ambrose. This Irish minuscule writing is massive, pointed, angular, irregular, and wide, and probably older than that of the first column*.

* A more detailed account of the contents of this volume is given by Dr. J. H. Todd, in the *Proceedings of the Roy. Irish Acad.*, vol. iii., pt. 2. p. 223. 8vo 1846.—Ed.

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§ II. WRITING OF FLANDERS AND HOLLAND.

PLATE CCXXXIV.

CURSIVE GOTHIC FRENCH WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

LIFE OF ST. CATHERINE, TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN BY JEAN MIÉLOT.

Of the three Saints named Catherine, inserted in the Romish calendar, the one whose legend is contained in the manuscript before us, is the Virgin and Martyr who lived in the fourth century. The Latin legend is ancient. It was translated into French by order of the Duke of Burgundy, by Jean Miélot, his secretary, who gives to the Saint the following genealogy. The Roman Emperor, Constantius, married Helena, daughter of the King of England, by whom he had two sons, Constantine the Great and Costus, King of Cilicia, who married Sabinella, and became the father of St. Catherine, whose virtues far outshone the renown of her pedigree.

The two pages of the manuscript represented in the accompanying Plate will convey but a faint idea of its magnificence. Its large size, the beauty of the vellum, the perfection of the writing, and the width of the margins, are all in keeping with the great number and exquisite beauty of the miniatures, which are executed *en grisaille*, heightened with gold. There are not more than two or three other ma-

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nuscripts known to be executed in this style*, and it would appear, that such works were peculiar to some miniaturists of the Flemish school, amongst whom is mentioned an elder Breughel, the master of John of Bruges†; but the volume contains no information enabling us to clear up the question as to the artist who executed these rich compositions.

The learned and laborious bibliographer, M. Peignot of Dijon, has published some very curious researches relative to the library of the Duke of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, and has given extracts from the books of household expenditure, relative to their rich *librarie*, but no notice occurs in them concerning the history of the present manuscript. The French translator of the Latin legend of the Saint has given us a little more confirmation in the note represented in the second page of the fac-simile, where we read, "*Translaté de latin en cler françois par Jo. Mielot, le moindre des secrétaires d'icelluy Seigneur, l'an de grace mil quatre cens cinquante sept.*" This same Jean Miélot is also known as the author of another translation, that of the *Miroir de l'humaine salvation*, which he also executed by order of the same prince, in 1448‡. This prince was "*Philippe, par la grace de Dieu, duc de Bourgoingne, de Lothrijch, de Brabant, et de Lemboury, conte de Flandre,*" &c. &c.; that is, Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy from

* One volume, so ornamented, is in the collection of the late F. Douce, now preserved in the Bodleian Library, No. 374. It contains the miracles of the Virgin, and was executed for Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.—Ed.

† It is difficult to understand or explain this assertion. John (Van Eyck) of Bruges died about the year 1440, whereas the elder Breughel was not born till 1510.—Ed.

‡ Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse*, Paris, 1831, 8vo., p. 105, where the name *Jacques* Miélot is used by mistake for *Jean*, an error which is corrected in the alphabetical table, p. 350. [See, in respect to Jean Miélot, an article by the Baron de Reiffenberg, in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge*, tom. ii., p. 381, 8vo., 1845.—Ed.]

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1419 to 1467. The enlightened taste shown by the princes of this illustrious house for literature and art, and the enormous sums expended by them in enriching their libraries, are well known historical facts, and proved by the great number of splendid manuscripts still existing executed by their orders. Philip the Good surpassed all his predecessors in this kind of magnificence, and his immense fortune enabled him to gratify his noble taste in this respect; hence he became celebrated in his time as the prince "sur tous aultres garny de la plus riche et noble librairie du monde . . . . pourquoi il a journellement et en diverses contrées grands clercs, orateurs, translateurs et escrivains, à ses propres gages, occupés," as stated by David Aubert, of Hesdin, in Artois, in the prologue to his *Chronique de Naples**.

On the death of Charles the Bold, in 1477, the libraries collected by his predecessors at Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and Dijon, underwent a series of misfortunes. Those at Dijon were given by Louis XI. to George de la Trémoille, and after passing through various hands, were sold publicly in 1745, when a portion was bought by the Duke de la Vallière, and another portion by the Bibliothèque du Roi. The collections which were left in the Low Countries did not escape spoliation, and only the remains of them exist at present. One of the most beautiful manuscripts of these collections, the *Cyropœdia*, translated into French, a volume which Charles the Bold had with him at the battle of Nancy, where he was slain, was restored not long ago† to the ancient

* *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne au XVe siècle*, par M. Peignot. Dijon, 1841, 2nd edit., p. 14.

† It was purchased at a sale at Paris, in 1833. See a description of this volume in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibl. Roy. des Ducs de Bourgogne.* [*Par J. Marchal,*] tom. ii., p. 198, 4to., 1842. It would appear, however, from the arms of Oettingen, princes of the Empire, blazoned on the first leaf of the volume, that it is very doubtful whether this volume was the copy of the work said to have belonged to Charles the Bold.—Ed.

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library of Burgundy at Brussels, by the care of the Queen of the Belgians, who has not forgotten on the throne, that the cultivation of literature and the fine arts has always proved a noble source of consolation and relaxation in the various fortunes of her august family,

The writing of this manuscript is that employed by the best scribes of the middle* of the fifteenth century, and which is termed *lettres de forme*, or *formée*, being the real Gothic, very angular, full of points, and complicated. It is large and massive, with the words divided, written between lines ruled with a plummet; with the titles of the chapters rubricated, and the initials (such as the C, represented in the Plate,) in the Gothic style, with the open parts ornamented, and the body of the letter formed in outline, and filled up with delicate patterns in body-colors. This writing is, in short, a good specimen of the vile types of the period.

PLATE CCXXXV.

MODERN GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

THE LIFE OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENNA, IN FLEMISH.

If we wished here to recall to mind the miserable origin of the kind of writing generally called Gothic, we should only repeat what has been said by the learned Benedictines, who attribute it to a confused mixture of capital, uncial, minuscule, and cursive letters, turned backwards, as well as upside down,

* Rather, towards the close of this century.—Ed.

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conjoined, and barbarous; and we would endeavour to describe its deformities, (of which the least inconvenient is the difficulty it presents to the reader,) if our efforts could have the effect of weakening the unfortunate taste so widely spread at the present time for this bizarre and motley system of writing.

Wherefore is it, we may ask, that this monstrous degeneration of the fine Roman writing should be preferred to the regular forms and fine proportions of the letters of the latter, which fully satisfy both the eye and the mind? Why should we retrograde towards the Gothic, when even the Roman itself, as it appears in many works where it is used, falls so far short of the more perfect models of antiquity, and the beautiful imitations of modern times? The general decay of literature, from the time of St. Louis to that of Francis I., threw into oblivion the fine forms of writing renovated in the days of Charlemagne, and is easily accounted for; but, that in the present century, which strives to surpass every preceding age, the most extravagant and hideous forms of the Gothic style should be exhumed, and associated with the sublime *chefs-d'œuvre* of our times, is a proceeding which appears altogether devoid of rational explanation.

Ancient Gothic writing has, nevertheless, its own monuments, to which a place in this collection cannot be denied; and the present Plate exhibits one of its specimens of the fifteenth century, a glance at which will indicate its recent date*, since each of the periods of this kind of writing has its own peculiar characters, which shew its age. At its origin, in the twelfth century, it had but few angles or points, and fewer superfluous strokes, but in the following century, all

* In point of fact, it is by no means so recent as the specimen in the last Plate. The author of the Latin legend of St Catherine, from which this version was made, was Raimundus de Capua, who died in 1399 at Nuremberg.—Ed.

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these characters were multiplied in proportion as the use of writing became more general; since, subsequent to the close of this century, nearly all the scribes adopted the Gothic style, in which the Roman types were more and more departed from, and angular forms introduced, so that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the letter *o* there are no less than six angles (o).

The writing of the specimen before us is a sufficient proof of the truth of these remarks. In the upper part of the Plate may be seen a strong massive writing, tall, close, and stiff, the words semi-distinct, and the letters full of points and angles, occasioned by the junction of the hair-lines to the thick-strokes, without any medium between them, or any graceful rounding of the forms; the whole is square or triangular; the top-strokes are shortened by protruding angles, which are bent over the body of the letters, and the tail of the *g* is turned upwards in like manner; various superfluous hair-strokes, occasionally curved, proceed from such of the top-strokes as are obliquely truncated; all the strokes have a triangular base; some of the letters are conjoined, and others united together, and the abbreviations are not numerous. As a whole, this may be cited as a favorable specimen of the Gothic minuscule of the fifteenth century.

In the lower part of the Plate the writing is smaller, less massive, and wider apart; rather rounded than tall, but swollen, approaching to the cursive or italic; with the words well divided, the top-strokes inclined towards the left, but some curved to the right; the *s* entirely cursive, and the base of the strokes prolonged into a point, bent upwards.

The two large initial letters are peculiar to this kind of writing, and are both *historiated;* in the D, a child is surrounded by flowers, whilst in the E, which is closed, is represented the miraculous appearance of the Crucifixion to St. Catherine of Sienna, a subject which is treated with some

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artistic effect. The manuscript contains the life of this Saint, written in the Flemish* language, one of the idioms of the Saxon branch of the great Germanic family, which has produced the poorest literature, and which, pressed in on one side by the German, and on the other by the French, has found but few opportunities favorable to a more extended development; after having been, under the name of Flemish or Brabantine, the written tongue of the seventeen provinces united under the authority of the Dukes of Burgundy.

This manuscript belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

PLATE CCXXXVI.

MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

HISTORY OF THE BIBLE, IN FLEMISH.

THE first degradation of the Capetian writing took place in the reign of St. Louis; it subsequently increased in a diversity of forms, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and at length assumed the form termed Gothic; a new style of writing, in which the Roman types were almost effaced. Hence it has been remarked by palæographers, that the modern Gothic writing (so called, to distinguish it from that which was in use at the period of the dominion of the Goths in the south of Europe,) presents such a number of varieties, that a large work would be required to describe

* This is a serious error on the part of the French editors. The manuscript is not in *Flemish* but in *German*, and is quite out of place here.—ED.

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them completely under their different forms, such as they appear on monuments of stone or metal, in manuscripts public documents, and private writings; as also in regard to the capital, minuscule, cursive, and mixed letters, exclusive of the most repulsive feature of this style of writing, namely, the abbreviations, which by degrees became more and more arbitrary and unintelligible. The renovation of literature in the sixteenth century fortunately put a stop to this nuisance, under which literature had groaned for full three centuries. The specimen of this wretched style of writing, represented in the accompanying Plate, will fully justify the judgment we have pronounced against it; and fortunate would it be, if the use of its angles and straight strokes, its points, bosses, hooks, ligatures, and intermingled letters, as well as its innumerable abbreviations, hair-strokes scarcely visible, united with thick ones, and its breaks and curvatures, were entirely to disappear, and left only as the type of a period when all learning had nearly perished, together with good sense and good taste!

This specimen is copied from a manuscript written in Flemish, containing the translation of part of the Old Testament, from Genesis to Tobit, (the book of Esdras excepted,) with extracts of some of the subsequent books; but the translator has added, as a supplement to this portion of his work, the history of Godolias, Alexander the Great, Alexander the King-Bishop, Antipater, Julius Cæsar, and Octavianus Augustus. The fac-simile is taken from the first page of the book of Exodus, the title being written in vermilion as pale as the faded color of the ink. Three vertical lines are drawn from the initial letters along the margin of the text of the first column, accompanied by a number of curved lines, ending in scrolls or flourishes, forming a kind of arabesque, terminated at top and bottom by triangles united at their bases. A large D, of the real Gothic form, with the thick strokes ornamented in patterns, and the open central portion with outline leaves

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and flowers, is inclosed within a square composed of lines and circles; the whole forming a heavy and vulgar ornament. Throughout the volume there are none executed in a better style. The writing is a Gothic minuscule, heavy, round, and angular, with the words divided; the letters connected together, mingled, however, with some renovated minuscules, and, in general, regularly written. The titles of the books are inscribed at the heads of the pages; large letters of the same kind indicate the chapters and paragraphs; each book commences with an ornamented page; every page is written in double columns, and at the inner margin of each leaf is a vertical line of thirty-five punctures, made with a compass, marking the position of the thirty-five lines of writing. An *explicit* and *incipit* indicate the termination of each book, and the commencement of the one which follows. On the whole, this manuscript offers a proof of the care and ability with which, even in the worst periods of writing, manuscripts of the sacred Scriptures were written; but the specimen in the Plate, it must be owned, does not particularly recommend either the period or the style. A comparison of this Flemish Gothic Bible with the uncial Roman Psalter of Charles le Chauve exhibits a complete degradation of civilization.

It is to be observed, that the text of this Bible is not divided into verses but only into chapters, forming, as it were, a continuous history. A note informs us, that the volume was completed on the 11th February, 1419: the scribe has not mentioned his name; but he has repeated several times the following notice to the reader, *Qui legit, emendat, scriptorem non reprehendat;* declaring at the same time, *Scriptor scripsissit bene, melius, si potuisset;* and adds at the end this truly personal desire, *Qui scripsit scripta, sua dextra sit benedicta.*

The manuscript is written upon paper of the fifteenth century, marked with water-lines.

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PLATE CCXXXVII.

MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

HOURS OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

HAVING given in the succeeding article a description and fac-simile of a Book of Prayers belonging to the Emperor Charles V., we here present to the reader similar illustrations of another manuscript volume which belonged to the same personage; but between the two manuscripts some striking differences may be observed. The former bears the title of *Breviary*, whilst the latter is properly termed *Hours*, or *Book of Hours;* the *Breviary* containing the prayers and offices which certain persons, according to their condition, were obliged to repeat daily (as, for instance, for Charles V., the seven penitential Psalms, and the prayer to St. Charles); and the *Hours*, on the contrary, consisting of prayers for general use, the mass for the principal feasts of the year, and prayers to all the saints, with the Gospel-lessons and litanies*. Moreover, the *Breviary* was executed for Charles V. himself, whereas this book of *Hours* is earlier than his time, although it doubtless subsequently belonged to him.

The Book of Hours is a small quarto volume, containing 179 leaves of vellum, written across the page; and both in regard to the writing and miniatures, is equally perfect in their respective styles of execution, as may be seen by the two pages represented in the Plate. The writing is one of the

* This is not a very correct or intelligible definition of the *Breviary* and *Book of Hours*, as any person better acquainted with the subject will at once perceive.—ED.

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most elegant and regular specimens of Gothic minuscules possible to be met with; it is angular, tall, wide, well-spaced, massive, but not to excess, and carefully finished in the most minute details. It would be difficult, even for an engraver, with the most correct model before him, to produce such purity and uniformity of execution. The down-strokes are not truncated, and are rather shorter than the height of the letters, whilst the top-strokes are forked; the *f* and *ſ* do not extend below the line; the ordinary abbreviations occur frequently, and the diphthong *æ* is uniformly replaced by *e* without a cedilla.

The initials of the chapters and paragraphs are illuminated and heightened with gold; the margins are ornamented with flowers, plants, animals, and very expressive grotesques; miniatures of small size are numerous, exclusive of fourteen larger paintings, one of which, on fol. 14, containing a figure of the Saviour, excites the liveliest admiration. At the commencement of the volume is a Calendar, in which the rural and social occupations of each month are represented, and the rubricated names of Vincentius, Amandus, Eligius, Egidius, Dionysius, and Donatianus, all connected with Belgium, are introduced into it*; thus confirming the Flemish origin of this beautiful volume, the school of which country was so justly renowned in the history of the fine arts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The volume is bound in a silver-gilt cover, thus completing its magnificence; and proving that it must have belonged to personages of high rank, capable of appreciating, or of paying

* The description of this volume is borrowed by the MM. Champollion, without acknowledgment, from Denis, *Codd. Manuscripti Theol. Bibl. Pal. Vindob. Lat.*, vol. ii., pt. 3, col. 2179, and the paragraph above (which is totally unintelligible in the French text) has been corrected from the original authority. MM. Champollion convert the rubrics (*purpurati*) into *cardinals*, and out of the *six* saints make only *three*, namely, *Vincent Arnaud* (sic), *Elégius Egidius*, and *Denis Donatien!*—Ed.

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for, so costly a manuscript. This is proved by several very interesting autograph inscriptions inserted on the covers or on the leaves.

Thus, on the *verso* of fol. 157, Charles V. himself has written the following words, signed with his name,—

Affin q̄ je soye de vous recōmandé à ceste bōne dame, cest mis sy en escript. Vrē vray bon mestre,*

CHARLES.

informing us, that this prince had presented the volume to a lady of his court, to whom also the following lines are addressed by a certain De Lalaing†, (a relative probably of the Flemish chronicler of that name), which are written on the upper cover of the volume:

En voz bōnes prieres se recōmande,
Celluy, qui vrē bōne grace demande.

DE LALAING.

Subsequently one of the members of the illustrious house of Croy has inscribed the following verses on the 165th leaf,—

Tant qu'en ce monde viveray,
Parent et amy vous seray.

CROY.

Still more recently‡, a person named Rogendorff has written this motto, with his name, *Forte fortune force;* and lastly, *R. J. De Calonne Du Quesne* has simply inscribed his name. This is not the only manuscript similarly loaded with names unknown to fame.

* The MM. Champollion (after Denis) read *acepté*, and their interpretation is, consequently, erroneous. Instead of *mis sy* [*cy*], as correctly given by Denis, they read, falsely, *missel*.—ED.

† Here again the French editors are in error, reading *Delalaint* for *De Lalaing*. By the *Flemish chronicler*, they apparently mean the celebrated *Jacques de Lalaing*, of chivalrous fame, who died in 1453, and whose life has been written by George Châtelain.—ED.

‡ In 1543, as appears from Denis, *ibid.*—ED.

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This fine example of Flemish art of the fifteenth* century is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. (*Theol. C.* No. 995.)

PLATE CCXXXVIII.

MINUSCULE AND CURSIVE GOTHIC WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

BREVIARY OF CHARLES V.

THE discovery of the art of printing, in the middle of the fifteenth century, gradually destroyed the powerful fraternity of scribes by profession, and confined their exertions to the courts of law and public documents; copies of works were no longer written, but printed.

Various beautiful manuscripts, however, were still executed in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even in the eighteenth centuries, which are, in general, remarkable for their fine condition; the vellum being of the choicest quality, and the writing by the most skilful hands, and enriched by exquisite miniatures; and these volumes being destined to flatter or gratify the taste of personages of rank, it was only by such means they could be put in competition with the rich and varied productions of the press.

Among the more remarkable works produced by the arts of design in the sixteenth century, the present manuscript deserves to be classed, and has supplied the fac-simile given in the Plate. It is now preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna (*Theol. C.*, No. 998), but was formerly in the library

* In the Plate it is erroneously attributed to the sixteenth century. —ED.

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of the college of St. John at Neustadt. It is an octavo volume of 250 leaves, in Latin, written on vellum in the most elegant manner, and ornamented with illuminated letters and 78 miniatures in gold and colors*.

This manuscript was written and composed for the daily use of the Emperor Charles V., as we learn not only from tradition, but also from the notices entered in the volume itself. Thus, on the *verso* of one of the leaves, is delineated the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, with the motto, PLUS OULTRE. CHARLES; and on fol. 245 we read the following prayer, *Da mihi, igitur, famulo tuo Carolo, ... sapientiam*, etc. Various memoranda are written on the margins of some of the leaves, by the immediate relatives of Charles V., three of which are copied in the Plate. The following couplet occurs on fol. 131, *verso*,—

Je demoray† toute ma vie,
Vr̄e treshumble servante et amie,

MARIE.

Written by Marie, sister of Charles V., and wife of Louis II., King of Hungary. On fol. 21, *verso*, is also the following attempt at a rhyme,—

James je ne seray cōtante,
Sy ne me tenes por vr̄e treshumble tante,

MARGUERITE.

Written by Marguerite, aunt of Charles V., daughter of Maximilian I., and wife of John, son of Ferdinand the Catholic, and subsequently of Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who died Regent of the Low Countries, in 1530.

A third memorandum is given from fol. 86, *verso*, which is a still worse attempt at verse than the two preceding,—

* The description of this manuscript is also abridged from Denis, *ibid.*, col. 2170.—ED.

† For *je démoreray*.

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Je me mes an sette place,
An vous supliant treshumblemt mons^r., q̄
puice tousjours estre an vre bonne grace.
vre treshumble et tresobéisante
S[œur] L.*

And lastly, as a more decisive proof of the original destination of the volume, on fol. 213, *verso*, may be seen a miniature, in which Charles V. is represented as a youth kneeling, in royal robes, and wearing the crown and insignia of Spain; the latter circumstance being of importance, as indicating the precise date of the manuscript; a certain date being of as much importance in the history of art as the dates of other historical facts. Charles V. succeeded to the crown of Spain in 1516, and was elected Emperor in 1519. Had he attained the latter dignity, the miniature would have contained evidence of the fact; as it is, the manuscript is shewn to have been executed in the period intervening between these two dates†.

It is evident, that the Emperor must have constantly used this volume, from its present state; the margins having lost their primitive whiteness, and being much thumb-worn. This is especially the case with the text of the Penitential Psalms, and at fol. 213, containing the prayer *Ad proprium Angelum.* Many of the leaves also bear to this day the deep impression made by the spectacles of the Emperor, which were usually shut in between the pages. The volume thus becomes doubly valuable, both as a work of art and an historical monument.

The right-hand column of the fac-simile represents one of the pages of this beautiful volume, containing a miniature, a border, and a portion of the text. The admirable composition

* *Eleonora*, another sister of Charles V. [It must be remarked that Denis reads the letters *S.P.*, without explanation.—Ed.]

† By an error of the engraver, the Plate has been marked of the fifteenth century.—Ed.

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of the figure of the Virgin will give an idea of the merit of these miniatures, which may be attributed to a distinguished pupil of the Spanish* school.

The text is a small square, acute Gothic minuscule, with the words divided; the tails are pointed, the top-strokes terminating in hooks, directed towards the right; that of the cursive *d* being greatly prolonged to the left. It is the minuscule of the period, written by an able scribe.

PLATE CCXXXIX.

MINUSCULE GOTHIC WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

THE APOCALYPSE, TRANSLATED INTO FLEMISH.

THE accompanying fac-simile is copied from a fine manuscript on vellum, of a small square folio form, belonging to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, (*Suppl. Lat.*, No. 165 [26],) which contains the text of the Apocalypse, or Revelations of St. John; a work of singular character, which has been subjected to perpetual doubts, both by the most profound as well as the most sincere critics, as to its origin, author, epoch, object, original language, and real sense, either considered historically or prophetically, as well as to its authority and consequent claims upon our faith.

This book, which has been considered both as apocryphal and scriptural, is attributed by some to the apostle St. John, and by others to St. John, the theologian of Ephesus: the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius adopts the latter opinion,

* Read *Flemish*.—ED.

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which is confirmed by the silence of preceding writers. The work, however, soon gained energetic defenders, and the believers in the Millennium (or the reign of Christ upon earth for 1000 years) strenuously adopted it; yet its authority became gradually weakened in the Greek Church. In the Latin Church its success was greater, and it was admitted as one of the canonical books. St. Jerome regarded it as such, and St. Augustine, at the Council of Carthage, held in A.D. 397, confirmed this decision, which, however, required fresh corroboration two centuries afterwards, at the Council of Toledo, in A.D. 633. Since the latter period, the Apocalypse has been added at the end of the Latin Bible.

It has come down to us written in the Greek language, but in a singularly corrupt state, abounding in false construction and Hebraicisms.

Six opinions have been put forth as to the period when this book was composed, the most generally received of which fixes it to the reign of Domitian; but others, who discover in it prophecies concerning the war against the Jews, give it an antecedent date. If the book be an inspired one, all these questions of profane criticism are only so many idle speculations; but the object which the author had in describing his visions still remains a profound mystery.

It is probably on account of the variety of commentators and the facility of interpretation, that so many copies of this unintelligible work have been made. Owing to the influence of the Latin version, it has been translated into all the languages of Western Europe, either in conjunction with the rest of the sacred writings, or in illustration of certain literary or exegetical views: the manuscript before us contains a translation of it in the Dutch or Flemish language.

The arts also were frequently called in requisition, in order to contribute to the popular reception of a book which both by its poetic style and prophetic inspiration excited so keen a

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curiosity, degenerating often into a credulous admiration. In the volume now under notice, the written text is but a feeble accessory to the paintings, which at once reveal to the eye the subjects they represent. The manuscript contains as many miniatures as leaves; they are of the width of the volume, painted and heightened with gold. The one represented in the Plate is the thirteenth. An angel, with his head radiated, holds a book with the left hand, whilst the right is lifted up towards heaven; and on either side is a holy personage, intended as an illustration of the first verse of the 10th chapter. "*And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven . . . and his face was like the sun . . . and he had in his hand a little book open, and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot upon the earth.*"

The miniature is painted on a blue wavy background, sprinkled with golden stars, by which the artist has attempted to represent the heavenly regions. The text belonging to this miniature commences on the second page of the preceding leaf, part of which is represented in the Plate. It is written in a modern Gothic minuscule, between lines drawn with a plummet, strong, tall, close, and very angulated; the tails and top-strokes short, and bent at the ends; the writing is, in other respects, carefully executed, and correctly punctuated. The initial E is surrounded by a square frame-work, from which spring floreated and foliated arabesques of vulgar design, which, as well as the writing, and the finished execution of the miniatures, announces the second half of the fifteenth century*.

* In order of time, this Plate should have preceded the three last. —Ed.

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§ III. ROMAN AND GOTHIC WRITINGS OF GERMANY.

PLATE CCXL.

UNCIAL CAROLINE WRITING OF GERMANY.

VIIITH CENTURY.

LATIN GOSPELS, WITH THE NAME OF THE SCRIBE.

THE fifth chapter of the first book of the *Palæographia Græca* of Montfaucon contains a very detailed account of the Greek scribes and copyists, and of the notes or subscriptions generally introduced by them at the end of the manuscripts which they executed; whilst the three following chapters contain copies of such notes or inscriptions still existing at the end of manuscripts, which bear date from the third to the sixteenth century inclusive, together with a list of the names of the scribes, arranged alphabetically. Montfaucon has demonstrated in a few words all the interest which these notes possess, as well as their utility in different other respects. We find in them not only the names, station, and country of the scribes, but also the date of their works, indicated by the indiction, the year, month, day, and sometimes even the hour, at which the work was either commenced or finished; the place where it was executed; the names of the sovereigns of the period, such as the emperors of the East, the kings of Sicily, and the Arabian or Turkish chiefs, and sometimes notices of contemporary events. Manuscripts thus dated enable us to fix with some degree of certainty the age of others in which no date appears.

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This essential portion of Greek palæography leaves nothing more to be desired; but it is far otherwise with Latin palæography; and if no one has yet undertaken a labor, in respect to Latin manuscripts, similar to that executed so well by the learned Benedictine, we must rather impute the blame to the negligence of ancient Latinists, than to the zeal of modern scholarship. It is, indeed, well known, that the number of Latin manuscripts which bear the notes or subscriptions of the copyists, is proportionably much smaller than that of the Greek. Either from custom, or perhaps from a spirit of Christian humility, the Latin scribes of the middle ages, who generally belonged to the clerical or monastic Orders, offered their works to Heaven, and despised the suffrages of mankind. The rules of many Orders, in fact, imposed upon such of the monks as were capable, the obligation of copying the Holy Scriptures; regarding this as a work meritorious towards the Creator. The subscriptions of the scribes of Latin manuscripts are therefore very rare; and this, perhaps, might be a sufficient reason to allege, for making them the object of a work similar to that of Montfaucon in relation to the Greek scribes.

A note of this kind, especially if taken from a manuscript remarkable for its great age, becomes thus a subject worthy of curiosity, which is legitimately connected with the present work. Such is the text of the fac-simile represented in the accompanying Plate, which makes us acquainted with a Latin scribe of the seventh century, who transcribed in somewhat carelessly-formed uncial letters, (if the text of the volume resembles that of the subscription,) the manuscript of the Gospels on vellum, now preserved in the Royal Library at Munich (*Cim.* II. 4. B).

In the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* (tom. ii. p. 194) may be found a subscription of nearly coeval date with the one before us, the scribe of which is named *Lantbertus*, who humbly

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styles himself *servus servorum Dei*, the servant of the servants of God, a title often assumed by the monks. After his name, Lantbertus states in precise chronological terms the date when he copied the volume; from which we learn that it was completed in the 31st year of the reign of Charlemagne (A.D. 800). The scribe of the Munich volume is not so explicit as to the date, but speaks rather of himself than of his work; from which circumstance we obtain the curious* information, that he had only three fingers on the hand with which he wrote the manuscript, *quia tribus digitis scribitur.*

The middle of the page is occupied by a cross, surmounted by an arch, inclosing the head and shoulders of a figure devoid of any characteristic peculiarity; above the arms of the cross are two doves, and below it are attached the A and Ω of the Gospel. The body of the cross is ornamented with stones and pearls, and in the centre we read, written in double columns, the words, EGO VALERIANUS SCRIPSI. The remainder of the subscription, written on either side of the cross, is as follows:—

FINIT LIBER SCI EVANGELII DICTA ADQUE FACTA DNI NRI IHI XPI. AMEN.

QUI LEGIS, INTELLIGE, QUIA DNI SUNT VERBA ISTA SCA, ET ORA PRO SCRIPTORE. SIC MEREAS CORONA A SALUATORE, ET VITAM CUM SCIS EJUS.

CULTORES ET LEGENTES, MEMENTOTE MEI PECCATORI, QUIA TRIBUS DIGITIS SCRIBITUR, ET TOTUS MEMBRUS LIBORAT. LABOR QUIDEM MODICUM, GRATIA AUTEM MAGNA A CREATORI.

PAX LEGENTIBUS, PAX AUDIENTIBUS, PAX ET CARITAS ET GAUDIUM SPIRITUI SCO VI[V]ENTIBUS IN XPO. AMEN.

This is written in a bad uncial Caroline hand, with full strokes, half truncated and massive; the words not divided; the letters rather crooked, sometimes pointed at the lower ex-

* Curious, indeed, if true! but this phrase may be found in other manuscripts, and is not to be understood literally. See Cooper's *Appendix A* to *Report on Records*, p. 147.—ED.

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tremities, and very unequal; many letters, such as L, U, I, A, T, approaching to the minuscule form. The *i* is neither punctuated nor accentuated, and the orthography is not so correct as in the time of Charlemagne; we here find *i* for *a*, *d* for *t*, and various faulty terminations. It is, therefore, with some probability that this manuscript is referred to the seventh century.

PLATE CCXLI.

ROMAN MINUSCULE WRITING OF GERMANY.

VIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW, IN THE THEOTISC LANGUAGE.

SINCE the period when the comparative and genealogical investigation of languages has made real progress amongst our critical writers, we have learned to appreciate the philological importance of any document, even of the smallest extent, anterior to the eleventh century, which preserves to us a text derived from one of the modern idioms. Very few evidences of this kind have been discovered connected with the history of the French language and its principal dialects; but Germany has been more fortunate in this respect.

German philologists refer back the earliest monuments of their national language beyond the fifth century, previous to the period when Tatian of Mesopotamia composed his *Harmony of the Gospels;* and they consider, that at this period (notwithstanding its great antiquity with reference to the origin and organization of one of the modern idioms) Theotisc translations were made of several books of the New Testament.

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It is true, that from the seventh century, the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongues was enjoined by the councils of the Church, in order that the unlettered Christians might understand them; but time has robbed us of the more ancient of these translations, whilst the gradual perfection of language has thrown into oblivion those older texts which are now sought after with such avidity.

The history of the manuscript which has furnished the present fac-simile may be taken as that of a great number of equally precious volumes, which have been no less deplorably mutilated, nor less curiously sought after, even in their present fragmentary state.

The learned editors of the work in which these fragments have been described* are of opinion that the Gospel of St. Matthew was alone translated, and occupied the whole of this manuscript in its original state.

The existence of this ancient Theotisc translation was first discovered at the commencement of the last century, by Bernard Pez, who found two of the leaves pasted down to the cover of another manuscript. These were published by J. B. Eccard, in 1720. Recently, fifteen other leaves of the same volume have been discovered among the ancient manuscripts of the library of Mondsee, now preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna; and these fifteen additional leaves of this precious volume had also been employed to thicken the covers of other manuscripts, which had been bound in the fifteenth century. Of these fifteen leaves, some more or less entire, and cut on one or other of the edges, were pasted to, and then reduced to the dimensions of, the covers; or else, cut into slips, they served to strengthen the backs of paper books.

MM. Endlicher and Hoffmann have most carefully sought

* *Fragmenta Theotisca; ediderunt Steph. Endlicher et Hoffmann Fallerslebensis.* Vindob. 1834, fol. [A second edition has been published by G. F. Massmann, 1841.—Ed.]

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after and published these relics of Northern literature, and by great patience and industry have happily succeeded in restoring each fragment to its place; thus recomposing the original pages, which an ignorant hand had cut into slips many centuries ago. The fac-simile exhibits a specimen of this difficult task, in which a narrow slip, which has not yet been found, leaves an hiatus of a few letters only in the page. The *recto* of each leaf bears the Theotisc version of the Gospel, whilst the *verso* contains the Latin text. The entire pages have thirty or thirty-one lines of writing, but the majority have been cut down to twenty-four or twenty-five lines. In the present fac-simile there are thirty.

The writing is entirely by one hand, in the minuscule Roman text previous to its renovation under Charlemagne, a character which has been supposed to be as early as the fifth century; and it is known, that this kind of writing was more usual than the Merovingian in the seventh century. It also became more frequent in proportion as the propagation of Christianity caused the multiplication of copies of the sacred Scriptures, acts of councils, works of the Fathers, and liturgical books*.

The Roman minuscule writing of the fac-simile somewhat approaches to the Lombardic, and may be assigned to the middle of the eighth century. It is round and strong, slightly inclining to the right; the strokes united together, and a little bent into a point; the top-strokes massive and clavate, or obliquely truncated; the tails long, and diagonally cut off; the *a* nearly open, like *u*†; the *i* not dotted; *ri*, *et*, *en*, and *eri*, expressed by conjunction of the letters; the words all separated by a dot, and without abbreviations. Such is also the case with the fac-simile given by Endlicher and Hoffmann, who read the commencement of the present fragment as follows—

* *Nouv. Tr. de Diplom.*, tom. iii., p. 262.

† Or rather like *cc*, but sometimes in the form of **a**.—Ed.

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. . . nan . auh . *sin*tun . angila . so sama . au*h* . *d*az . gasamn*o*tun . enti fyur forbronnitun . so selp. *etc.*

thus translated into Latin,—

Messores autem angeli sunt. Sicut ergo colliguntur zizamia, et igne comburuntur, etc.—(Matth. ch. xiii. v. 39.)

PLATE CCXLII.

ROMAN MINUSCULE WRITING OF GERMANY.

VIIITH CENTURY.

LATIN AND THEOTISC BIBLICAL GLOSSARY.

In other portions of this work we have noticed the various opinions, entertained at different periods, respecting the age of the Latin writing in the vast territory known by the general name of Germany. The civilization of the principal portions of this country was not simultaneous, and two chief epochs are to be traced in its history, corresponding with the two origins, (fundamentally distinct both as to time and place,) which have been accorded to the general population of this part of Europe. It is certain, that Germany did not wait for the orders and example of Charlemagne to adopt the Roman writing, as is fully proved by its monuments, which are sufficiently numerous and authentic to place this palæographic proposition beyond doubt.

The manuscript which has furnished the present fac-simile is a further evidence in favor of this historical proposition, since the use or ignorance of writing, and the greater or less effects resulting therefrom, are of immense importance in the annals of every nation, ancient or modern.

This manuscript belongs to the public library of Carls-

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ruhe, (No. 86,) and is a folio volume of 96 leaves, written in double columns, containing some fragments of criminal law, several chapters of the rule of St. Benedict, a sermon, and a series of glosses of the Vulgate Bible, written in Latin, with a corresponding translation in Theotisc in an opposite column, but not arranged alphabetically.

With a people so learned and curious concerning their origin and antiquity as the Germans, it is not to be supposed that a linguistic and palæographic document of so much value as the present, should remain unexamined. It has accordingly, in common with other documents of a similar character, found an able editor and historian.

Dr. E. G. Graff has published a valuable *Thesaurus*, or Dictionary of the most ancient Theotisc language, in which the words are arranged according to their roots; and these again are disposed alphabetically; and in this Dictionary are collected all the words which the editor has been able to extract from every ancient text. The manuscript of Carlsruhe is, of course, not forgotten, but is often cited in the first volume of this *Theotisc Thesaurus*, the only one hitherto published*. The same philologist had, however, previously written more at length on the contents of this manuscript, in his work intitled *Diutiska*†, in which are discussed the antiquities of the ancient Theotisc literature, and which contains a short but sufficient notice of the Carlsruhe manuscript, with the addition of the entire text of the Latin and Theotisc glossary.

The fac-simile represents an entire page of this manuscript, written in double columns, separated by an irregular vertical line. The writing is a rude and massive Roman

* *Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz, oder Wörterbuch der althochdeutschen Sprache*, etc., now completed in six volumes. Berlin, 1834–42, 4to.—Ed.

† *Diutiska, Denkmäler deutscher Spracher und Literatur*. 3 hefts, Stuttg. und Tubingen, 1826–1829, 8vo.—Ed.

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minuscule, mingled with Lombardic letters; some of the titles, such as that in the seventh line, IN GENES[IS], being in small rustic Roman capitals. In the minuscule text are several conjoined letters, as *ri, ec, st, en, et;* the *a* is open*, the top-strokes tall and clavate, and the greater part obliquely truncated; the tails long and pointed, or diagonally truncated, sometimes angularly recurved towards the body of the letter; *f* and *ſ* extend below the line; *t* retains its uncial form with the transverse stroke circumflexed; the words generally not separated, and often both in the Latin and Theotisc text divided (as into syllables) by a blank space, which gives but a poor idea of the learning of the scribe. In the Latin words, *d* is often substituted for *t*, as *canisdra* for *canistra, terisdrum* for *teristrum;* and this appears to be a trace of the antiquity of a pronunciation which has not yet entirely disappeared. Some words and phrases are also mis-spelt in this manuscript, as in line 8 we read *sedllia*† for *sed Lia.* The real interest of the volume consists, however, in the Theotisc text, of which the Latin preserves the contemporary equivalents; for in the North, as well as in the South, time has introduced great changes in the value of words, and in the grammatical forms of idioms.

The first four lines of the fac-simile are to be read thus:—

Latin.	*Theotisc.*
discriminalia	untarsceitida
periscelides	peinkauuati
murenulas	menni
olfactoriola	stanc fazziliu.

This manuscript is unanimously attributed by the learned in Germany to the eighth century. Previous to its arrival at Carlsruhe, it belonged to the Abbey of Reichenau, on the Lake of Constance.

* Not always, but sometimes like **a**.—ED.

† This is not correct. In the fac-simile the words are correctly written *sed lia:* compare *edofanun* in line 20 of the Theotisc column.—ED.

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PLATE CCXLIII.

GERMANO-LATIN WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

LATIN AND THEOTISC FRAGMENTS, WHICH BELONGED TO LOUIS OF GERMANY.

THE very ancient volume from which the bilingual fragment in this Plate is copied, is one of the most remarkable palæographical monuments extant, in respect of its origin, and recalls to mind the names of two illustrious personages, which serve to fix the date of the manuscript.

It formerly belonged to the ancient and celebrated library of St. Emmeram, at Ratisbon, many of the rare volumes of which have furnished valuable specimens of writing to Mabillon, to the Benedictine authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, and to the learned author of the *Chronicon Gotwicense*. This rich library was subsequently carried to Munich, and added to the Royal Library there. We thus see, that it is not in France alone that the course of political events, during the present century, have had the effect of bringing into the public libraries of the metropolitan cities the literary treasures heretofore preserved in the now suppressed monastic establishments.

The volume under notice contains various portions of other manuscripts, and the remains of a Sermon of St. Augustine, intitled *De Symbolo, contra Judæos.*

The first page in the fac-simile is to be read without difficulty:—

Injurias inrogantem tolerat, quia patientiam exhib& sui sponsi. Expectans auras libertatis, ut vindicetur ab eo ejus humilitas, q̄m[*quoniam*] eam viri sui obtin& caritas, *etc.*

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We here perceive an elegant, well-proportioned Germano-Roman minuscule writing, with the words distinct; the strokes acute, the tails and top-strokes long, the latter clavate, or more commonly bent backwards, and truncated; *et* united into & at the end of words, and an uncial N at the end of the last word; the punctuation serving to regulate the reading rather than the sense.

Similar manuscripts are not rare; but the present one possesses a high historical interest, from the text represented in the second page of the fac-simile, which was the last of the ancient manuscript of the Sermon of St. Augustine. We there read the following lines:—

ACCIPE, SUMME PUER, PARVU[M], HLUDOUUICE, LIBELLU[M]
QUEM TIBI DEVOTUS OPTULIT EN FAMULUS.
SCILICET INDIGNUS JUVAVENSIS, PASTOR OVILIS,
DICTUS ADALRAMMUS, SERVULUS IPSE TUUS.

From these few lines we learn, that the manuscript of this Sermon was presented by Adalram, Archbishop of Salzburg, to a youth of high birth, named Louis, who is believed to be Louis of Germany, third son of Louis le Débonnaire, and grandson of Charlemagne, the same who was called to the throne of Bavaria by the choice of his father, in A.D. 817. Salzburg was one of the chief cities of the kingdom of Louis of Germany, and Adalram, its Archbishop, died in A.D. 836. These are the conclusions drawn by the learned critics of Munich from the metrical inscription which terminates the manuscript of St. Augustine, which is written in elegant and strong Roman rustic capital letters, having all the principal characters of the writings of this kind in the ninth century. The first letter of each verse is written in vermilion; the remainder are black; the A is without the cross-bar; many of the strokes are truncated, with circumflexed lines; the last strokes of the N and V are prolonged beneath the

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line; all the horizontal strokes are short; and the G is characterized by a long stroke, extending far below the body of the letter. The words are divided, and the whole is agreeable to the eye.

A third circumstance adds an additional interest to the volume, namely, the existence of an ancient Theotisc text, written on the lower margin of the pages, in which have been recognized the fragments of a poem on the end of the world and the last judgment. The learned J. A. Schmeller of Munich has published them, under the title of *Muspilli**, and conjectures that these Theotisc fragments were added by a contemporary hand, and possibly by King Louis himself, to whom the volume was presented.

It might be objected, that the writing in these fragments, from its Roman form and regularity, would rather appear to be the work of a scribe by profession. Deferring, however, to the judgment of Schmeller, we shall merely add, that this Theotisc text, being coeval with the celebrated Oath taken in 842 between this same Louis of Germany and Charles le Chauve, on the occasion of the ratification of the treaty of Strasburg, becomes a monument of the highest literary value, and in both these texts the same words are found employed. France, notwithstanding the number of her historical documents, reaching back to the origin of the monarchy, possesses nothing in reference to the history of the national language, either of the North or South, equal in antiquity to the Theotisc oath of Strasburg, or the Roman text of the sam oath. This is a privilege hitherto confined to Germany alone. The manuscript before us offers another proof of the fact, and presents an additional monument of the same kind.

* *Muspilli, Bruchstück einer althochdeutschen alliterienden Dichtung*, etc. Münch. 1832, 8vo.—Ed.

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PLATE CCXLIV.

GERMANO-LOMBARDIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

FRAGMENT OF ST. ISIDORE, TRANSLATED INTO THE THEOTISC LANGUAGE.

THE manuscript from which the bilingual fragment in the present Plate has been taken, contains, in the judgment of the most learned German philologists, the oldest monument of Teutonic literature; and they have affirmed it to be two centuries earlier than the *Christiad* of Otfrid, the contemporary of Charlemagne. We may therefore easily conceive how great is the value of the volume in which this text is preserved, more especially as there is no other copy of it in existence*.

This Teutonic text, however, was not the chief subject of the volume, when it was first written, but only an accessory†, which, from its age, and the scarcity of linguistic documents of this class, now constitutes the real value of the manuscript, which belongs to the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris (No. 2326).

It contains the work which Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, composed in the form of a letter to his sister Florentine, against the opinions of the Jews and Arians. The Goths, established in the sixth and seventh centuries in southern Gaul and in Spain, were inclined towards the doctrines of Arius, notwithstanding the piety of their King, Recared I.,

* Schilter, *Thesaurus Antiquit. Teutonicarum: Joannis Frickii præfatio generalis*, page xiv. [Ulm, 1738, fol.]—Palthenius, *Tatiani Alexandrini Harmonia, Theotisce.* [Greifus. 1706, 4to.]—G. Gley, *Langue et littérature des anciens Francs.* [Paris, 1814, 8vo.]

† But contemporaneous with the Latin text.—ED.

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who labored to retain them in the Catholic faith, assisted by the writings of the Bishop of Seville. The Teutonic and Vandal tribes were mingled with the Goths in France and Spain, and exposed to the like errors; and in order that they might be preserved from them, this translation into their own language, of the writings of the illustrious Bishop, was undertaken by an orthodox Teutonic scholar, for the salvation of his fellow-countrymen.

The manuscript contains this work of Isidore, with a translation of the first portion into the Theotisc language. It is of a narrow quarto size, written on ordinary vellum, partly in double columns, and partly in lines across the page; the leaves are ruled with a hard point, with punctures serving to regulate them. The color of the red and black inks used (the former for the titles, and the latter for the text,) has singularly faded; but in other respects the manuscript is carefully written. The entire text of St. Isidore is by one hand; but this is followed by a collection of ancient glosses, arranged alphabetically, and some theological questions with their answers, by an anonymous author, written in a different hand and period; whilst on the last page are some lines, inscribed in Tironian characters.

The arrangement of the text deserves some attention. The first 64 pages are divided into double columns; the remainder are of the ordinary form. In the first 43 pages the two columns are occupied by the two texts, written by the same hand; in the 23 succeeding pages, one of the two columns remains blank, and, as the left-hand column is occupied by the Latin text, and the right-hand column by the Theotisc translation, the following conclusions may be made; namely, that an orthodox Teuton, whose name is unknown, undertook to translate into his mother-tongue this work of St. Isidore; that for this purpose he wrote the Latin text on the half pages of the first eight quaternions of the volume;

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that he afterwards proceeded with the Theotisc translation, parallel with the Latin, through the first 43 pages, where the translation ceases; and that he wholly gave up the idea of this translation at the 65th page, which is written in long lines, without any space being reserved, even for a short annotation.

Such is the arrangement of this precious volume, which is simply bound in parchment, as was the case with all the most valuable manuscripts in the celebrated library of the learned magistrate P. Pithou, to whom it formerly belonged, and from whose library it passed to that of Colbert, and subsequently into that of the King.

The fac-simile represents the last five lines of the 25th page, and the first seventeen of the page following*. The Latin text, on the left-hand side, commences with an H of the uncial form, the first stroke of which has a slight interlaced ornament, and the open part colored. The Theotisc text begins with a V of the same kind, also colored in the open part. Both texts are written in a Lombardic† minuscule character, mingled with Saxon, and approaching to the Caroline, strong, massive, and upright; the top-strokes elongated and clavate; the tails pointed, the letters occasionally united; the *a* open, and the words scarcely divided. This writing, therefore, may be referred to the commencement of the ninth century.

The origin of the Theotisc text has been referred to an earlier period, even as far back as the seventh century, owing to the rudeness of its verbal forms.

* In Schilter, cap. v., tom. i., pt. 2, p. 6.—Ed.

† The writing is precisely of the same character termed elsewhere *Germano-Roman* and *Germano-Latin* by the French editors.—Ed.

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PLATE CCXLV.

GERMANO-ROMAN WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

INVENTION OF THE CROSS, AND THEOTISC PRAYER OF WESSOBRUNN.

THE two specimens given in the accompanying Plate, although exhibiting but one type of writing, contain two texts very different in their idioms, origin, and age. The second specimen is also a celebrated monument of the less ancient of these two idioms, and it accordingly holds a distinguished place among the most precious documents of ancient German literature.

This second specimen is, in fact, an exact copy of the fragment in the Theotisc language known under the title of Das Wessobrunner Gebet, the Prayer of Wessobrunn, derived from the name of a town in Upper Bavaria (Weissenbrun), where was formerly a Benedictine monastery, which, like other similar establishments of this Order (celebrated for the eminent services which its brethren have rendered to literature), possessed a library and collection of manuscripts, which are now preserved in the Royal Library of Munich. (*Cim.* III. 4. M.)

It is a quarto volume, of the size represented in the Plate, written on vellum, in lines across the page, each of which has fourteen lines. It contains various extracts from the works of the Fathers, some geographical notes, and fragments of geometry; and all these Latin texts are accompanied by glosses in the ancient German language.

The chief article in this manuscript is a prayer in Theotisc, written upon a leaf of parchment employed in the binding of

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the volume. This fragment has become celebrated throughout Germany, from the period when it was first discovered, as one of the most precious monuments of the national language, since it is referred to the eighth, or, at least, to the ninth century; and hence it has been introduced into such great works as the *Monumenta Boica**, and in literary journals; and has been critically studied by the first scholars, including the brothers Grimm, who published an edition of the text and restored the metre in 1812†, and who have been followed by M. Wackernagel‡, whose work has also been very favorably received.

We learn from the labors of these German critics, that this prayer is composed of fifteen lines of unequal length, accompanied by alliteration; and that it consists of an invocation addressed to God, the creator and giver of all good, very similar to that contained in the Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of Genesis, by Cædmon. The following is the reading of the few first lines, metrically disposed§:—

De Poeta.	*Literal translation.*
Dat chifregin ih mit firahim,	*This I have learnt with men*
firi uuizzo meista,	*most of wisdom,*
dat ero ni uuas noh uf-himil,	*that at first there was no firmament,*
noh paum, noh pereg ni uuas.	*there was neither tree, nor mountain.*

The palæographical characters of this fragment justify the opinion already expressed respecting its age. We here perceive the Roman minuscule writing, which was well known and employed in Germany previous to the period of Charlemagne. This minuscule is large and massive, with the words divided; the top-strokes tall, gradually thickened, and

* Vol. vii., p. 377. Monach. 1766.—Ed.

† *Die beiden ältesten deutscher Gedichte*, etc. Cassel, 1812, 4to.—Ed.

‡ *Das Wessobrunner Gebet, herausg. v. W. Wackernagel.* Berl. 1827, 8vo.—Ed.

§ G. Gley, *Langue et littérature des anciens Francs*, p. 155.

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obliquely truncated; the strokes of the *m* and *n* pointed at the base, which is often bent upwards, and the tops turned towards the left, by the rounding of the stroke. The sign which follows the first word is intended for the syllable *chi*, formed probably from the Greek χ and a vertical stroke for the *i;* the form of the *r* is entirely Merovingian in the syllable *re*, but elsewhere it is of the Roman form; the first sign in the second page (which is often repeated) is to be read *enti*, (*and*). We also find the *a* written both as **a** and *cc;* and this mixture of Carlovingian writing with the Roman is a mark of antiquity eminently characteristic of the ninth century.

These peculiarities are equally to be seen in the two other pages represented in the upper part of the Plate, copied from the body of the same manuscript, which appear to be of the same period, and doubtless by the same hand. This text is a Latin treatise on the Invention of the Holy Cross, containing its history and miracles, and ornamented with rude drawings; one of which is faithfully copied in the fac-simile, in which the introduction of the Cross delivers a soul from the pains of sin and the pursuit of the fiend. The writing is rather larger than that of the Prayer, less massive, wider, with the words alike divided; the top-strokes and tails elongated, the latter acute or truncated at the base; the former clavate, with the tops bent towards the left, or horizontally truncated; the *r* is of the Merovingian form, extending below the line, and united with the letter following, whether vowel or consonant; *r* of the Roman form is also employed; *et* united into *&* occurs at the beginning, middle, or end of words; *a* is either like **a** or *cc;* the strokes of the *m*, *n*, *u*, and *i*, are curved, and the majuscule letters of all sizes are of the ordinary uncial form. Its value consists entirely in the great antiquity of the Theotisc text.

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PLATE CCXLVI.

CAROLINE MINUSCULE WRITING OF GERMANY.

IXTH CENTURY.

OTFRID'S PARAPHRASE OF THE GOSPELS IN THE THEOTISC LANGUAGE, AT VIENNA.

In the year 842, the two sons of Louis le Débonnaire, namely, Charles le Chauve, successively King of Neustria, Aquitaine, France, Lorraine, and Emperor, and Louis of Germany, King of Bavaria, bound themselves by a treaty and oath mutually to assist each other against their elder brother Lothaire; and this oath (the words of which have been preserved in the chronicle of Nithard) is the most ancient monument, with a positive date, of the literary history of the north and south of Europe, having been drawn up both in the Roman language of France and the Theotisc language of Germany. The German King pronounced the oath in the Roman language, in order to be understood by the Franks, whilst the King of the French took it in the Theotisc language, so as to be understood by the trans-Rhenane chiefs and soldiers.

From a work contemporary with this oath, and which is also written in the same Theotisc language, the accompanying fac-simile has been made, and represents a page of the celebrated work of Otfrid, monk of Weissenburg, in Alsace. This learned writer, in addition to his claims as a philosopher, rhetorician, poet, and theologian, merits also that of a philologist, from his having been the first to polish his rude national language, and to frame for its construction certain grammatical rules. To accomplish this, Otfrid constructed a poem in

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Theotisc verse, embodying the principal events of the Gospel history, which from its rhythmical arrangement was able to be chanted, and thereby readily became popular; so that by this means a less barbarous model of the language was disseminated, and less impatient of grammatical rules*.

This work was divided into five books, and dedicated by its author to Luitbert, Archbishop of Mentz, in a Latin epistle, and to King Louis of Germany, to Salomon, Bishop of Constance, and to Hartmuat and Werinbert, monks of St. Gall, in three epistles in Theotisc verse. These epistles exhibit the facility of composition possessed by Otfrid, as proved by the two hemistichs of each verse rhyming together, and the first and last letter of each distich† being identical; these letters, when placed together, forming the Latin names and qualities of the person to whom the epistle was addressed. Thus, in the epistle to King Louis, the first verse commences with L, and the second also finishes with L; the third verse begins with U, and the fourth ends with U; so that the first syllable of the name of the King is given at both ends of these lines; and so on with the remainder; a trifling mode, doubtless, of cheating the cloister of the tedium experienced by an active spirit like that of Otfrid.

Of the three existing manuscripts of Otfrid‡ at Munich, Rome, and Vienna, the one preserved at Vienna (No. 345) has furnished the present fac-simile. This volume is ornamented with several designs, one of which, representing the entry of Christ into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, is given in

* *Hujus enim linguæ barbaries, ut est inculta et indisciplinabilis, atque insueta capi regulari freno grammaticæ artis.* Otfrid, Epistle to Luitbert.

† The *Histoire Littéraire* erroneously states each *quatrain*, tom. v., p. 371.

‡ This work has been republished several times: the last edition is that by Graff, under the title of KRIST, *das alteste von Otfriden im* ix *Jahrh. verfaszte hochd. Gedichte*, etc. Königsb. 1831, 4to.

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the Plate. A crowd of people run before the Saviour, and strew palm-branches and garments in the way. The architecture of the houses, the costumes, head-dresses, and the form of the cross which surmounts the edifice, would lead us to infer that this drawing was copied from a Greek or Byzantine model.

The first line of the text, written in Roman rustic capitals, indicates that it is part of the preface to the fourth book. This preface is in rhyming hemistichs: the large initial letters of each distich, in vermilion, are also Roman capitals, mingled with uncials: one of the T's is forked at the base. The body of the text is written in ordinary Caroline minuscules, with most of the words divided; the top-strokes clavate and obliquely truncated, the tails short and pointed; the bases of *m*, *n*, and *r*, inclined sometimes to the left, and sometimes to the right, and *&* introduced into the middle of words.

The reading of the text is not difficult* :—

Nu thie éuuarton binóti . máchont thaz giráti .
ioh xpec [*Kristes*] tódes† thuruh nót . ther líut sih hab& giénot.
Bigínnent frammort uuísen . uuío sie inan firlíesen .
ioh thaz íó thénkit iro múat . uuío sie firthuésben thaz gúat.
Nu uíllih scriban frámmort . er selbo rihte mir thaz uuórt .
uuio druhtin sélbo thaz biuuárb. er sínes thankes bi únsih starb.

These venerable relics of the literary antiquities of Germany have been sought after, and regarded with the utmost veneration by the learned in that country.

* In Schilter, tom. i., p, 234.—Ed.
† Originally written *dódes*.—Ed.

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PLATE CCXLVII.

CAROLINE MINUSCULE WRITING OF GERMANY.

IXTH CENTURY.

THE HELIAND, A HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS, IN THEOTISC VERSE.

THE manuscript, of which the fac-simile exhibits an entire page, is placed by the philologists of Germany among the most valuable monuments of the Frankish, or Theotisc language, being that which the Franks carried with them from Germany to the northern provinces of France, and which was the language of Clovis and Charlemagne, as well as of the age of Hugues Capet.

This manuscript contains a paraphrase of the Gospels in this idiom, and it is to Louis le Débonnaire, son of Charlemagne, that the origin of the work has been ascribed; this prince having ordered that the Gospel should be translated into the national language, in order that the Franks throughout his vast empire might be enabled to read the sacred volume. Charlemagne himself had also expressed a great predilection for this language, the rules of which he undertook to write.

At the commencement of the last century, the attention of the students of northern antiquities was awakened to the existence of a manuscript at London, which contained the Paraphrase of the Gospels; and Hickes, who then described it*, announced it as the work of a Frankish writer of the time of Charlemagne, styling it the *codex aureus*, and far

* In his *Institut. Grammat. Franco-Theotiscæ*, p. 6, published in 1703, and forming part of his *Thesaurus*, 3 vols. fol. The manuscript is marked Caligula A VII. in the Cottonian collection, and is described by Wanley, in the same work, vol. ii., p. 225.—ED.

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superior to all other productions of this kind of literature, in regard to the richness of its ideas, energy of expressions, dignity of style, and inimitable purity of diction.

It was ascertained some years afterwards, that a similar manuscript had existed at Würtzburg, but which could not then be found, and for a long time was believed to be lost; but, in October, 1794, it was discovered by a learned French ecclesiastic, the Abbé Gley, who had the good fortune to recognise a true relic of Frankish literature which nobody could understand, in an old so-called Bible, in the library at the Cathedral church of Bamberg, The Abbé Gley made this manuscript the special subject of his labors, devoting himself thenceforth to the profound study of the language and literature of the ancient Franks, and twenty years afterwards he published on this subject, (so unfamiliar to and little cultivated among the learned in France,) a volume* remarkable alike for the learning and modesty exhibited in every page.

In this interval of time, however, the Abbé Gley had printed in the literary journals of Germany some extracts from this manuscript, and called the attention of the public to them, so that when, in 1802, the principality of Bamberg was annexed to Bavaria, the Bavarian Government caused an exact copy of the volume to be made, which was deposited in the library of Bamberg, and the original removed to the royal library of Munich, (*Cim.* III. 4. *a*,) where the present fac-simile was executed.

The Gospel Harmony contained in it is written in verses, which do not rhyme, but the versification is subjected to the system of *alliteration* peculiar to Theotisc poetry†, consisting

* *Langue et Littérature des anciens Francs*, par G. Gley. Paris, Michaud, 1814, 8vo.

† The alliterative systems of the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians seem to be wholly overlooked.—Ed.

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in the identity of the initial letters of those words which represent the chief ideas of the same verse; a remarkable form, which appears to have been abandoned in the time of Charlemagne, and replaced by rhyme*.

In the Munich volume, as well as in the London manuscript, the scribe has written the text in lines across the page, thus mingling the verses, and leaving the critic to guess at the versification adopted by the author, who is supposed to have employed lyrical verses, composed of five or six feet.

The dialect appeared to the Abbé Gley to be nearly similar to that used in the oaths made, in A.D. 842, by the sons of Louis le Débonnaire, but the diction is purer than in this formula, or in the paraphrase of Otfrid. Hickes asserts, that the Theotisc productions of the Carlovingian era are destitute of the *attic elegance* of the text of the Gospel Harmony in the London and Munich manuscripts†.

The writing is very legible, being the ancient Roman minuscule, named by some English writers *Franco-italic*, who consider it as that which the Franks employed either in writing Latin or their own national language. The writing of the fac-simile slopes rather from right to left; the top-strokes are clavate, and the tails very short and pointed.

Otfrid affirmed, in the ninth century, that the Frankish language was barbarous, and difficult to be pronounced, in consequence of the accumulation of letters, to which it gives unknown sounds. He adds, that sometimes three *u*'s are employed consecutively, the first two as a consonant and the third as a vowel; of which, in fact, the fac-simile offers an example (line 10), the two *uu* representing the consonant *w*

* *Langue et Littérature des anciens Francs*, par G. Gley, pref. p. ix.

† This work has since been published by J. A. Schmeller, under the title of *Heliand, poema Saxonicum seculi noni*, etc., accompanied by a glossary and fac-similes, in two parts, Monach. 1830–1840, 4to. The dialect of the poem has been ascertained not to be *Theotisc* (or *Francic*) but *Old-Saxon*, and probably written by a native of Westphalia.—Ed.

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of the present German idioms. The syntax of this language admits of inversions, as appears from the literal translations published by the Abbé Gley.

PLATE CCXLVIII.

CAROLINE MINUSCULE WRITING OF GERMANY.

IXTH CENTURY.

OTFRID'S THEOTISC PARAPHRASE OF THE GOSPELS, AT MUNICH.

We have spoken in a previous article of this work of the paraphrase of Otfrid, a monk of Weissenburg, who, in the ninth century undertook the task of polishing and reducing to rules the vulgar tongue of the Germans, still irregular and barbarous; the use of writing being but very little practised in the countries where that language was spoken. He conceived that he might effect this more completely, not by composing a book of precepts, but by framing a text in which the ameliorations which he proposed to introduce should be exemplified, more especially, if this text should become popular among his contemporaries. At this period the Gospel was making great progress in his country, and Otfrid collected together all the passages which it contains illustrative of the life of the Saviour, which he divided into five books, written in the reformed language, in leonine verses or rhythmical prose, in which the middle and final syllables of the lines are of similar sound; whereby the Germans unskilled in letters might be the better able to retain them in their memory.

Such is the work of the Alsatian monk Otfrid, a real *Messiad*, which must take precedence in date over all others. Otfrid was the contemporary of Charles le Chauve, and his

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work has been read, studied, and imitated in following ages; it has even become the prey of plagiarists, if it be true, that Sigefridus, a priest of Freisingen, who also composed a rhythmical work on the Canticles, was but a copyist of Otfrid, as has been asserted by a learned German critic*.

Only three manuscripts of the work of Otfrid are known, belonging to the libraries of Vienna, Munich, and Heidelberg, all of which are very ancient. We have already spoken of the first of these, and described the fac-simile which accompanies it. The copy at Heidelberg has been cited, and a specimen given of its writing in capital letters, by the Benedictines†; and they refer to it as then in the Palatine Library of the Vatican, No. 52, from whence, however, it has since been removed to Heidelberg. The third manuscript at Munich has furnished the accompanying Plate.

This manuscript is of a folio form, written on vellum, and is marked No. 14 among the German MSS. (*Cim.* 4. *d.*) Previous to its arrival at Munich, it belonged to the Cathedral of Freysingen, in Upper Bavaria; and it is stated to have been written in that town between the years 883 and 906; but we are unable to state the authority for this palæographic tradition. The Munich copy, like those of Vienna and Heidelberg, contains the Theotisc work of Otfrid; but it does not appear to have been copied from either of them, and is of equal antiquity, so that it must consequently be placed in the first class of the MSS. of this work.

It differs from the two others (as may be seen from the fac-simile of four lines published by Graff‡) in one essential point; each page being written in double columns, which are formed of the two rhyming hemistichs of each line, which must be read together to render the verse complete.

* Lambecius, lib. ii., p. 454, sq.

† *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.* iii. 126, pl. XL. [Also in Graff's edition of Otfrid, 1831.—ED.]

‡ *Krist Von Otfrid*, etc., Königs. 1831, 4to.

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The text of this manuscript contains many important variations, both of orthography and punctuation; it is also very carefully executed. The page represented in the fac-simile contains an entire chapter of the work of Otfrid, namely, the 28th and last of the first book, and the commencement of the first chapter of the second.

The word SPIRITALITER in the Plate, is written SPIRITUALITER in the Vienna manuscript. This word, as well as the two lines in vermilion, separating the chapters,—EXPLICIT LIBER EVANGELIORU[M] PRIMUS THEOTISCE CONSCRIPTUS. INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS, are written in rustic capitals, frequently used in contemporary manuscripts of the Carlovingian period. The present are remarkable for their bold execution; tall, close, truncated in circumflex, and with short traverses. The small capitals of the first lines of the text are of the same character; the initial capitals of the verses approach the uncial form, the top-strokes being more slender in the middle, the summits truncated, and the base of the I prolonged into a point.

The text is written in a Caroline minuscule, approaching to the cursive, some of the letters being conjoined together. It has a decided sloping direction towards the left, especially in the *m* and *n*; in other respects it is elegant and wide, with the words scarcely divided; the top-strokes clavate and obliquely truncated, and the tails diagonally cut off; the *ti* sometimes resembles *n*. The entire text of the fac-simile will be found in pages 95, 96, 99, of the Theotisc paraphrase of Otfrid, published by Graff, who has not, however, given a translation of it*.

* A Latin translation is in Schilter, tom. i. p. 86.—ED.

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PLATE CCXLIX.

CAROLINE MINUSCULE WRITING OF GERMANY.

X^TH CENTURY.

LATIN EVANGELIARIUM, WRITTEN BY ST. UDALRIC.

THE introduction of the minuscule writing of France, renovated by Charlemagne, amongst the Christians of Germany, is a fact so generally admitted as to require no discussion here, and is confirmed by the manuscripts of the ninth and following centuries, as well as diplomas, written in the countries beyond the Rhine. The present manuscript is supposed to have been written by the hand of the illustrious Bishop of Augsburg, St. Udalric, or Ulric, who was raised to the episcopate in A.D. 923, and, dying in 973, was canonized in 993 by the Council of the Lateran, when his miracles were recounted, in order, as it was said, to extend throughout all the churches the worship of St. Ulric, already established at Augsburg; this being the first example of the juridicial canonization of a saint beyond his own diocese, and the most ancient of which any documents are still in existence. The bull of the German saint-bishop is signed by Pope John XV., by five bishops of the environs of Rome, nine cardinal priests, and three cardinal deacons. His reputation for sanctity still exists in all its force, and the manuscript before us furnishes one of the numerous proofs thereof.

This manuscript is preserved in the royal library of Munich, (*Cim.* VI. 2. *a.*) as a precious relic, and is considered to have been really written by the saint's own hand. This opinion is probably founded upon an established tradition and historical testimony, which we have no wish to dispute,

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We read, in fact, at the foot of the second page of this manuscript, (as copied in the Plate,) the following invocation, written in small Roman rustic capitals of gold,—

DS̄ [DEUS] PROPITIUS ESTO OVDALRICO PECCATORI.

and if we believe that the saint was himself the scribe of these two lines, their perfect resemblance to the writing of the rubric, affords a favorable inference as to the volume being in his autograph*.

Some other statements of this kind may here be opportunely mentioned, to which a too easy credulity has given credit, in ancient as well as in modern times. Thus, Aulus Gellius speaks of the sale of the second book of the Æneid, written by the hand of Virgil; Tertullian states, that he had seen the autograph of the Epistles of St. Paul; Palladius read a book written by St. Hippolyte, who lived in the days of the apostles, and another work, written by Origen. In the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, is a manuscript of the Gospels of the tenth century, which the scribe declares was corrected from the autograph Latin text of St. Jerome. At Venice they pretend to possess not only the original of the books of Esdras, but also the Gospel of St. Mark in his own handwriting. How much more might be added in regard to the forgeries produced by the modern taste for autographs, and which has given birth to a species of industry unhappily too productive of counterfeits!

The manuscript of St. Udalric is, at all events, a fine specimen of the large Caroline minuscule writing, with the words semi-distinct and upright, the bases of the strokes and the tails diagonally truncated; the top-strokes clavate, and

* The Harleian MS. 2970, is an Evangeliarium, written in rather a smaller letter than the volume described above, but by the same hand, and bears the same inscription prefixed, in letters of gold, together with four miniatures containing portraits of the Evangelists, which are valuable for the German art of the tenth century.—Ed.

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obliquely tipped; the letters rather angular; *&* used for *et* in the middle of words; punctuated, and with very few abbreviations. The regularity of the writing requires us in justice to add to the other good qualities of the illustrious saint, that of being a skilful calligrapher, piously exercising his talents in fulfilling the ancient law of the Church, which affirms that it is a work acceptable to God, to transcribe the books of the Holy Scriptures.

The title in the fac-simile is written in rustic Roman capitals, with the bases, tops, and cross-strokes circumflexed; the letter F with the top-stroke high and curved; and mingled with some minuscules. The uncial-shaped initial U, in the first word VIGILATE, is ornamented with a beautiful branching arabesque, drawn with gold and silver*.

The fac-simile is to be read,—

IN NATALE CONFESSOR[VM]
SEQ[UENTIA] SCI EVG [*Evangelii*] SCDM [*secundum*] MATH[ÆUM.]
IN ILLO TEMP[ORE] DIXIT IHC [*Jhesus*] D. S. [*discipulis suis*] VIGILATE ergo, quia nescitis qua hora dns [*Dominus*] vester venturus sit. Illud autem scitote, quoniam si scir& pater familias qua hora fur venturus ess&, vigilar& utique, et non sineret *per*fodi domum suam, *etc.*

(Matth. ch. xxiv. v. 42.)

This manuscript of St. Udalric is splendidly bound, with two bas-reliefs in ivory fixed on the sides of the cover.

* The outline of the letter is first traced, and the strokes afterwards filled up with gold or silver; the outlines are then again gone over with vermilion. When a volume is not of so costly a character, the vermilion outline only is drawn, and not filled up.—ED.

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PLATE CCL.

CAROLINE WRITING OF GERMANY.

X^TH CENTURY.

LETTERS OF ST. BONIFACE, AND ENIGMATICAL WRITING.

THE present elegant example of Teutonic Caroline minuscule will complete the series of specimens of this kind of writing, from the period of its adoption to its degradation. We have unhesitatingly adopted the opinion of diplomatists, that the minuscule Latin writing so much in use among the Gauls, previous to the time of Charlemagne, was equally practised by the peoples of Germany in transcribing manuscripts. Various volumes in the library of the ancient cathedral of Würtzburg, written in Saxo-Teutonic minuscules anterior to the reign of Pepin le Bref, are sufficient evidences that this minuscule is nothing else than a degraded form of the fine Latin writing. It is true, that the diplomas of this prince granted to the churches of Germany, were written in cursive Merovingian characters, such as were in use in France; but the writing of such documents executed by notaries differed from that of the manuscripts executed by calligraphers or professional scribes, as is proved by the manuscripts of Würtzburg; a Latin minuscule was, therefore, in use in Germany previous to the reign of Charlemagne.

Nevertheless, soon after the commencement of his reign, the Teutonic writing underwent a reform in Germany, similar to that established in France by the authority of the monarch. It was not, however, introduced as a novelty into the northern states, but simply admitted as a renovated Roman writing, and used thenceforward in manuscripts; at first it was regular

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and elegant, but degenerated by degrees until the thirteenth century, when it fell beneath the incurable Gothicism of that period.

The manuscript before us is a specimen of the early period of the Teutonic Caroline writing, as is evident from its beautiful execution. The manuscript belongs to the Imperial library of Vienna, and contains the letters of St. Boniface*. The title, which occupies the two first and part of the third lines, is in small, massive, irregular, uncial capitals, mingled with some minuscules, and presents no features worthy of remark.

The text, on the other hand, is a specimen of very regular, clear, round, well-proportioned minuscule, with the words semi-distinct; *&* employed for *et* in the middle of words; the top-strokes clavate, with the summits turned to the left; the tails generally acute, but sometimes truncated; the strokes of the *m* and *n* bent towards the left at top; sometimes sharp at the base, but oftener bent upwards; the *ſ* extending both above and below the line; the diphthong *æ* indifferently written *e*, *ae*, *æ*; the abbreviations few in number; the punctuation regular, marked with a comma and dot; the text tolerably correct; and with uncial capitals at the beginning of the paragraphs. The slightly angular forms of this elegant Caroline minuscule (the use of which was nearly uniform in all the countries subject to the Carlovingian dominion) appears to fix the date of the manuscript to the tenth century.

This volume is also deserving of attention from the numerous instances it affords of the skill of the scribe in inventing enigmatic, or rather fantastic letters, which seem out of place in so serious a work as the letters of St. Boniface. Thus, after the words, ITEM EPISTOLA BONIFACII ARCHIEP[ISCOP]I, the remainder of the title is occupied with *enigmatic* letters, derived from the Latin ones, either misformed or changed in

* It is described at length by Denis, vol. i. col. 1002, and, besides the letters of Boniface, contains many other tracts.—ED.

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value, merely to repeat in this fantastic alphabet, the words of the title,—EPISTOLA BEATI BONIFATI, EPISKO[PI], DANIELO EPISKOPO BON.

The writing in the lower part of the Plate is still more remarkable, although not more interesting; the large letters of the top line being so combined, that whether read from left to right, or from right to left, in their present position, or turned upside-down, we always meet with the same words; thus the word *cohortem* will be found at the end of the line in all the directions in which this enigma can be read*. In the two lines below are the names of the letters of the Latin alphabet, in some unknown idiom, or, more probably, fantastically thus named by the scribe†, who has added a series of trigrams, of which, however, he has given an explanation. It is unfortunate that the name of the ingenious inventor of all these fancies should not have been preserved; but the chief value of the manuscript consists in its fine specimen of the Caroline writing.

* The line appears to form these words, read either backwards or forwards, *Metro hoc Anticato signa cohortem.*—ED.

† These names are not fantastic or unknown, but the designations of the Anglo-Saxon runes, as the French editors might have found by comparing Plate CCLXXIII. of the present work, or by consulting Grimm, *Ueber deutsche Runen*, Gotting. 1821. 12°, p. 106.—ED.

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PLATE CCLI.

CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE TEUTONIC WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

EVANGELIARIUM OF ST. NICHOLAS, AT MUNICH.

ALTHOUGH the curious specimen of Teutonic or Germanic palæography before us is not earlier than the eleventh century, no argument can be drawn from it in favor of the opinion entertained by some learned writers, that the Germanic nation did not possess the knowledge and use of letters previous to their conversion to Christianity. It is true, according to Tacitus, that in those countries neither the men nor women had any knowledge of letters; Ammianus Marcellinus brings down this state of ignorance up to his own period; and if we adopt the assertions of Eginhart, the German language had only begun to be written in the ninth century, when the monk Otfrid translated the Gospels into the Teutonic idiom, which he was the first to correct and polish, for which purpose he adopted the Latin alphabet. From these statements it has been inferred that the Germans were entirely ignorant of the use of writing previous to the time of Charlemagne.

It must, however, be objected to this somewhat sweeping conclusion, that a great number of monuments exist anterior to the introduction of Christianity into Germany, written in runic characters, which have induced some writers to carry back the use of writing to the fourth century. At all events, its use must have been known from the period of the earliest intercourse of the Germans with the Roman armies. St. Jerome remarks, that, in his time, the Germans studied the Holy Scriptures, and sought out the texts in the Hebrew

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tongue. Ulphilas, a Greek by origin, Bishop of the Goths of Dacia and Thrace, translated the Old and New Testament into the language of his adopted country, and introduced into it, as reported, the Greek alphabet of Constantinople, in the year 377. Such is a summary of the most certain and received opinions relative to the state of literature among the German nations, previous to the time of Charlemagne.

We should be inclined to suppose, in reference to the subject, that the reign of the Emperor Charlemagne, which exercised so great an influence over these nations, must also have materially affected their literary condition, and contributed to render less rare amongst them a certain amount of instruction, as well as the use of reading and writing, especially influencing the state of the latter art, by introducing in the place of the deformed Roman letters, the renovated Caroline forms. This is probably the real change which took place in the literature of Germany in the ninth century, under the influence of Charlemagne. The three manuscripts of Otfrid, one of the reformers of ancient German literature, are written in the Caroline character, and are supposed to be nearly contemporary with this monarch. Moreover, the Germans, during the reign of the Carlovingian princes, entirely abandoned the ancient runic letters, and appropriated the Gallican or Caroline, but introduced into it certain changes, sufficient to constitute it a distinct variety of writing, termed the German or Teutonic Caroline, which is found in the manuscripts and charters written in those countries*.

The manuscript at Munich (*Cim.* C. 3.) which has supplied the fac-simile is the work of a German scribe, extremely well skilled in the Caroline writing, although already somewhat degraded from its finest form. The first letter which attracts attention is of the gigantic class, historiated, ornamented, and conjoined; a long and narrow vertical parallelo-

* Mabillon, *De Re Diplom.* p. 46; *Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.* i. 710, and iii. 114.

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gram forms the letter I, which is traversed by an arabesque, the branches of which terminate in volutes and flowers. The figure which forms the letter is also an integral part of the letter H conjoined to it, the centre of which is occupied by the figure of a bishop in the primitive episcopal costume, intended for St. Augustine, one of whose works (the *Commentary on the Pentateuch*), is written in the volume. The other letters of the title are Teutonic Caroline capitals, of unequal size, elegant, although irregular and wide apart; some wider than tall, and all of them truncated and dilated at the base; the straight strokes narrowed in the middle; the summits and bases of the strokes concave; intermingled with German uncials, such as A, D, L, U, X, and some flattened Roman A's. The title, which abounds with abbreviations, is to be read,—

IN ILL[O] T[EMPORE] DIX[IT] D[OMINUS] J[HESUS] D[ISCIPULIS] S[UIS] PARABOLA[M] HA[N]C. HOMO QUIDA[M] NOBILIS ABIIT IN REGIONEM LON——, the three latter words being in smaller capitals, of similar origin.

The remainder of the text is in Caroline minuscule, approaching to the Capetian, very regular, with the words divided; the letters massive, slightly angular, and upright; the top-strokes short and truncated; the straight strokes curved to the right at the base, and the text punctuated. The three lines are to be read:—

——ginquam; accipere sibi regnum, & reverti. Vocatis autem decem servis suis, dedit illis decem mnas, & ait ad illos, Negociamini, *etc.*

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PLATE CCLII

GERMANO-ROMAN MINUSCULE WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

ROMAN MISSAL OF THE EMPEROR HENRY II.

THE text of this manuscript is so legible, owing to the size and regularity of the writing, that we are at first sight inclined to doubt its antiquity; authentic evidence, however, fixes its date to the year 1014. It belongs to the Royal Library of Munich, (*Cim.* B. 7.) having been brought there from the Cathedral of Bamberg, to which it was given by the Emperor Henry II., surnamed the *Holy*, and the *Lame*.

It is, known, that Henry II., Duke of Bavaria, great grandson of the Emperor Henry I., the Fowler, was elected King of Germany in A.D. 1002, and King of Lombardy in 1004; and having driven the Poles from Bohemia in 1007, he established the bishopric of Bamberg, in Franconia. A Saxon annalist gives the year 1006 as the date of its foundation; and although there is this discrepancy between the dates, it is certain that Henry named his chancellor, Eberhard, as the first bishop, who continued to perform the duties of Chancellor or Arch-Chancellor, chiefly for the affairs of Italy, until 1023, as is proved by various charters published in the *Chronicon Gotwicense*, lib. ii., pp. 240, 241.

The new bishop was, therefore, placed in an advantageous position for directing the munificence of his sovereign to his cathedral, and various charters, especially two dated in 1010, shew that he was not remiss in this respect.

The execution of the manuscript before us is intimately connected with one of the most remarkable events in the

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King's life. It bears the date of 1014, which is precisely the year in which Henry, having repassed the Alps, and put to flight Ardouin, Margrave of Ivrea, who had assumed the title of King of Lombardy, celebrated the festival of Christmas at Pavia, and afterwards proceeded to Rome, where he was crowned Emperor the 24th of February, by Pope Benedict VIII., who had been restored by Henry to the pontifical chair.

On such solemn occasions, monarchs generally conferred benefits upon the churches, especially those they had themselves founded, and at such a time Bamberg would not be forgotten by the Emperor whose imperial munificence was recorded by Eberhard, and the manuscript must have formed one of the gifts which the church of Bamberg then received. It is, therefore, justly styled the *Missal of the Emperor Henry II.*

It is a folio volume, written on vellum, with very wide margins; the text is written in black ink, whilst gold and silver are used for the titles, headings, and initials, the latter of which are also colored; lastly, two kinds of writing are employed, uncial capitals and Roman minuscules.

From the period of the reign of Charlemagne, the Teutonic minuscule, analogous to the Merovingian, was reformed from the Roman. This renovated writing was generally used in Germany, and retained its beauty until the thirteenth century, as exhibited in the manuscript before us.

The first line of the fac-simile is in small uncial capitals, and indicates the Office of St. Pancratius, whose feast is celebrated on the 12th of May. The second line is in similar letters, being the commencement of the prayers for the day,— PRESTA $\overline{\text{QS}}$[*quæsumus*] $\overline{\text{OMPS}}$[*omnipotens*] $\overline{\text{DS}}$[*Deus*] UT———; three of the words being abbreviated, as indicated by the horizontal bar above each.

The initial P is of large size, and prolonged at the base

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into leaves, which similarly occupy the open space, and the letter rests on a tessellated ground-work of various colors, surrounded by a double line of silver, and the angles ornamented with a small golden circle.

The writing of the text is a large renovated Roman minuscule, very legible, and massive; the words scarcely divided; a point, when placed in the middle of the height of the letters, serving as a comma; but above the line, for a full-stop. The top-strokes are short, clavate, obliquely truncated, and turned towards the left; the *y* is dotted; *ſ* is very tall, both in the middle and at the end of words, *s* not being employed; the tails are short and horizontally truncated, or cut off diagonally; *e* with a cedilla is used for *æ*, and *&* is employed in the middle of words for *et*.

The capital initials are indifferently uncial or Roman, whilst the palæographic characters of the manuscript correspond perfectly with the date assigned to it by history, the beginning of the eleventh century.

PLATE CCLIII.

MINUSCULE CAPETIAN WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

EVANGELIARIUM OF THE MONASTERY OF NIEDER-ALTACH.

THE chiefs of the second and third races of the French kings, in addition to their fame as founders of fresh dynasties, have acquired a renown less common in royal annals, namely, that of having effected the renovation of the style of writing used in their days. Thus, Charlemagne banished the rude and complicated Merovingian characters, and restored the fine

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models of ancient Rome, of which the age of Augustus and the Antonines have left such admirable examples, and this renovated writing has been thence named Caroline.

The misfortunes of the period subsequent to the reign of Charlemagne, had an obnoxious effect upon the useful arts; good taste could not be cultivated amongst a people distracted by wars and internal dissensions, so that during the latter reigns of the second race of kings, the Caroline writing became gradually degenerated. The chief of the third race again endeavoured to restore it to its former excellence, but his success was short-lived, and at length the fine Roman forms succumbed altogether to the Gothic.

The Capetian writing, nevertheless, remained in use during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries; and in the eleventh century, especially, many fine works were produced under its influence, both charters and manuscripts, in France, England, and Germany. It is true, that it continued more regular in manuscripts than in charters; the great multiplicity of scribes of the latter documents opening the door to the caprices of bad taste, whilst manuscripts required more skilful execution.

Several periods have been indicated in the history of the minuscule Capetian writing, namely, its commencement, when it still resembled the Caroline; the ordinary style, in which it is uniform, regular, and generally elegant in its form and proportions; and, lastly, its transition state, in which it became massive and angular, the true precursive signs of the Gothic deformities.

We have now before us a specimen of this third kind of Capetian minuscule writing, copied from a manuscript in the Royal Library of Munich, containing the Gospels for the festivals of the year, and acquired from the Benedictine monastery of Nieder-Altach, in Lower Bavaria.

The fac-simile will at once give a sufficient idea of the beautiful execution of this manuscript, and of the elegance of

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its ornamental details. The initial letter is a gigantic I, occupying the whole length of the page, and terminating both at the summit and base in various floreated ornaments; the body of the letter being splendidly decorated with interlaced knots and arabesques of gold, upon a vermilion ground. This letter is the commencement of the Gospel of the day,—INITIUM EVANGELII $\overline{\text{IHU}}$ $\overline{\text{XPI}}$ FILII $\overline{\text{DI}}$ SICUT SCRIPTUM EST IN ESAIA PROPHETA, written in uncials, mingled with Roman capitals, some being square, and others taller than wide, and rounded; the E always lunar-shaped; I and V in the word SICUT being introduced into S and C; the upright strokes being dilated at each end, as well as the cross-stroke of the T.

The minuscule of the text is massive and close; the top-strokes and tails short; the tops of the letters acute, oblique, turned towards the left, and obliquely truncated, and the tails diagonally tipped. The words are generally divided and punctuated, but the prepositions *in, ad, ab*, are united to the words which they govern. The cedilla below the *e* (which the German palæographers termed a tailed *e*) indicates the diphthong *æ*; *r* is not longer than the other letters; *ſ*, on the contrary, is always elevated above the line, in every part of a word; *e* occasionally has an appendage attached to its loop; *i* is never dotted; *t*, when alone, is truncated with a semi-curved line; and *i* is used for *y*. A capital uncial letter in gold occurs at the beginning of each of the paragraphs, which are separated by a point. The other diphthongs, such as *œ*, are formed by separate letters, as in the word *poenitentie;* *z* is elevated above the line instead of below it; *r* has sometimes an appendage at the top, like the *e*; *v* in the word *vestitus**, in the last line, is of a still more singular form. Abbreviations, even of the commonest kind, very seldom occur in the volume. The Capetian minuscule when rather acute, with the summits bent and angular, and the

* Read *veritas* by the MM. Champollion !—ED.

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strokes of the *m* and *n* turned upwards at the base, indicate the eleventh century, which is the date assigned to this fine Evangeliarium of Munich.

PLATE CCLIV.

CAPETIAN LATIN WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

WILLERAM'S PARAPHRASE OF THE SONG OF SONGS.

WILLERAM *de Fonte**, a native of Franconia, but a scholar of the university of Paris, on his return to his own country, was elected professor of theology in the church of Bamberg, then assumed the monastic habit in the monastery of Fulda, and subsequently was raised to the dignity of Abbot of Ebersperg, in Bavaria, a Benedictine house founded by Henry III. After thirty-seven years' administration of this office with all praise, Willeram died in the year 1085.

We learn from Trithemius, that the Abbot of Ebesperg composed various sermons, letters, and a work in prose and verse, intitled *De Nuptiis Christi et Ecclesiæ*, which was a double paraphrase of the Song of Songs, one in Latin, and the other in the Theotisc language. The fragments of the *Messiad* of Otfrid, which we have previously published, are of the ninth century, whilst those of Willeram are of the eleventh. Several manuscripts of his work exist, and the libraries of Vienna, Heidelberg, and Breslau each possess ancient copies of the work. Freher saw another upon vellum, elegantly executed, in the monastery of Ebersperg; and the fac-simile in the

* Schilter *Antiq. Teutonicæ*, tom. i. Scherzii, *Præf. in Willerami Paraphr.*

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present Plate is copied from a manuscript now in the Royal Library of Munich. (*Cod. Germ. No.* 10.)

The Theotisc text of the work of Willeram having so strongly interested the historians of German literature, it was published by Paul Merula, in 1598, from a manuscript in which the ancient Low German idiom was strongly apparent. Vögelin published another edition in 1631, from a manuscript of Marquard Freher and another of which he does not give any account; and lastly, a new text, Latin and Theotisc, was printed by Scherzius in the *Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum* of Schilter, from a manuscript at Breslau. Hitherto the Munich manuscript has not been noticed in the various editions of the work of Willeram; and as it is difficult to suppose that this manuscript in so celebrated a library could have escaped their researches, it is probable that it is one with which they were unacquainted elsewhere, before its removal to Munich*. It is known that Freher saw a manuscript of Willeram in the monastery of Ebersperg, which monastery was given by Duke William of Bavaria, in 1595, to the college of Jesuits of Munich; and as the library of the capital of Bavaria has been enriched from the libraries of various religious establishments, it may be inferred that the Munich manuscript is the one which originally belonged to the monastery of Ebersperg.

Freher considered that this fine volume was corrected by the hand of the author himself, and Schilter regarded the Vienna manuscript as entirely autograph. However this may be, the Munich copy is certainly well worthy of attention, both in a literary and palæographical point of view. Each page is divided into three columns, the middle one being occupied by the principal text, that of the Song of Songs,

* Another manuscript of Willeram, of the same age as the Munich copy, is in the Harleian collection, No. 3014, and is, hitherto, uncollated. A new edition of Willeram's text has been published by Dr. H. Hoffmann, 8vo., Bresl. 1827.—Ed.

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according to the Vulgate, of which the first two verses are represented in the fac-simile. The left-hand column is also in Latin, and contains the paraphrase of the text of the Canticles, composed by Willeram in rhythmical verse; each distich having an assonant rhyme, as in the following lines:—

Quem sitio votis. nunc oscula porrigat oris.
Quem mihi venturum. promyser[ant] organa vatum.

The third column contains the commentary in the Frankish language, in prose, the commencement of which is as follows:

Cússer míh mít démo	*Osculetur me osculo sui*
cússe sínes mún-	*oris. Sæpius promittebat*
des. Dieco ge-	*ipse mihi suum adven-*
hiézzer mir síne chuónft	*tum, per prophetas.*
per prophetas. nu cúme ér, *etc.*	(*Translation by the Abbé Gley.*)

We see in this fac-simile a fine Roman Capetian minuscule, of the eleventh century; large, wide, slanting, upright, and mixed; with tall top-strokes, clavate and truncated; the tails short and pointed; the writing being, in general, irregular in its principal characters. The initial capitals are both uncial and Roman; the former, in each of the three columns, are in outline, floreated and foliated in the interior, and remarkable for their elegance and good proportions.

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PLATE CCLV.

UNCIAL AND CAPETIAN WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

TREATISE OF ST. AUGUSTINE DE CIVITATE DEI.

THERE are but few works of sacred or patristic* Latin literature, which will bear comparison with the work of St. Augustine, intitled *De Civitate Dei, contra paganos et hereticos*, either in respect to the number of manuscript copies existing of it, or of the printed editions, which have been so numerous as almost to have made its study popular. It is true, that this work of the illustrious Latin Father (composed, according to Cardinal Mai, in imitation of Cicero's treatise *De Reipublica*), abounds in thought, spirit, and invention; classical antiquity was familiar to its author, who proposed in it to prove the superiority of christian over profane philosophy, and to combat, at once, both the pagans and heretics.

The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris possesses no fewer than forty-five manuscripts of this treatise, and from the earliest period of printing the work was multiplied by the press; the first printed edition having appeared in 1467, was followed by those of 1468, 1470, and 1473, since which time they have succeeded each other without interruption. The last which appeared in Paris is dated 1838†. There are but few examples of equal and durable success.

Among the most ancient copies of this treatise may be

* A term adopted by the learned, to designate the works of the Fathers of the Church.

† *S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episc. De Civitate Dei libri* xxii. Paris, 1838, la. 8vo., 1300 pp.

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mentioned two in the Bibliothèque Royale; one written on papyrus, supposed to be of the sixth century; the other on vellum, of equal antiquity, both being in uncial letters.

The manuscript from which the accompanying Plate is copied, possesses another kind of value, since it may be considered as one of the most beautiful and carefully executed volumes existing of the works of the Bishop of Hippo. It belongs to the Imperial Library of Vienna, (No. 3256,) and is a large folio upon vellum, written in double columns. The page containing the title and commencement of the sixteenth book of this famous treatise is copied in the present fac-simile.

The title is written in a compartment enclosed within two columns, surmounted by a double rounded arch; the capitals and bases of the columns being rectangular and devoid of ornament. This title, which also indicates the completion of the preceding book, occupies eleven lines written alternately in red and black ink, all the letters being Capetian capitals, mixed with uncials; some are ornamented with a pearl or dot, and others approach the minuscule form, but the scribe, in general, has given free exercise to his caprice. The more regular of them are taller than wide, with dilated bases; the top-strokes thin in the centre; others are as wide as high; the E is sometimes of a lunar form and sometimes square, and in the latter, the cross-strokes are short. Many of the letters are enclosed within others, and some are conjoined. The A in line 3, N in line 6, and I in line 8, have a superfluous curved stroke. A point placed in the middle of the lines separates the words from each other. This title is to be read, EXPLICIT LIBER XV^us^ S̄CI AUGUSTINI EP̄I [*Episcopi*] CONTRA PAGANOS ET HERETICOS. INCIPIUNT CAP[ITU]LA LIBRI XVI.

The other portion of the fac-simile is occupied with the text of the commencement of the 16th book, in which the author proposes to inquire, whether from the days of Noah

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to those of Abraham, there was any family who lived according to God's law. The fac-simile is to be read,—

Post diluvium percurrentes scæ [*sanctæ*] vestigia civitatis, utrum continuata sint, an incurrentibus impietatis interrupta temporibus, ita ut nullus hominum veri unius dī [*Dei*] cultor existeret, ad liquidum, Scripturis loquentibus, invenire difficile ē [*est*]; propterea quia* in canonicis libris post Noæ, qui cum conjuge ac tribus filiis totidemque nuribus suis meruit per archam a vastacione diluvii liberari, n̄ [*non*] invenimus usque ad Abraham cujusquam pietatem evidenti divino eloquio predicatam, *etc.*

The initial letter of the text is an ornamented gigantic P, forming part of an arabesque which entirely occupies its open space, the base being also terminated in a foliated volute. The body of the text is written in Capetian minuscule letters, generally used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in France, Germany, and England. The writing in the manuscript is large, open, truncated, and acute; the tails diagonally cut off; the top-strokes dilated, concave, and inclining to the right; the words well divided, with very numerous abbreviations; the *c* resembles *e;* a point is used in the place of a comma, and two points indicate various contractions, such as *m*, *er*, *e*, *st*, *re*.

The lower lines of the fac-simile are copied from the end of the manuscript. They are written by the same hand as the text, but their subject has but little analogy with it; consisting of four Latin lines, containing the names of several well-known fishes with their synonyms in German, of the same period as the rest of the volume†.

* *quod* in the printed editions.

† The date of this volume is ascertained by some lines in it (overlooked by the MM. Champollion) stating it to have been written by Folknard, who was Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Sittich, in Carniola, from 1150 to 1180. See Denis, vol. ii. col. 735.—Ed.

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PLATE CCLVI.

MINUSCULE ROMAN WRITING OF GERMANY.

XIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

THEOLOGICAL TREATISE ON THE FOUR CARDINAL VIRTUES.

THE manuscript which has furnished the fac-simile in the accompanying Plate, affords an opportunity of bringing to light two names long lost in the darkness of oblivion, namely, those of King Miro and Bishop Martin. The four rubricated lines in the fac-simile are the title of a short treatise on the four cardinal virtues, prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice, (called also *Formula vitæ honestæ*,) composed by Bishop Martin, and dedicated to King Mir, or Miro.

Some researches as to these names leads us among the Suevi, Goths, and Alani, who, at the beginning of the fifth century, drove the Romans out of Spain, and established themselves in their place. In the second half of the sixth century, two kings of the name of Miro succeeded each other on the throne of the Suevi of Spain, and the city of Braga was the capital of their territories, where the seat of an archbishop was fixed, and a priest, of the name of Martin, occupied the see during the life of King Miro. These circumstances are in accordance with the title of the manuscript, which contains the work composed by Martin, Bishop of Braga, and dedicated by him to Miro, King of the Suevi. Some doubt might still exist as to which of the two kings of this name the work was dedicated, one being the son and the other the grandson of Cariaric, whose reigns extended together from A.D. 559 to 582, but the dedication itself determines. The Bishop praises greatly the zeal of the King for the catholic

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faith. Now Cariaric was a pagan; his son, Miro I., or Theodomiro, followed the doctrines of Arianism; but Miro II. declared himself, about the year 580, in favor of the persecuted catholics; it must, therefore, be to Miro II. that Martin dedicated his work, and the death of this King, in 582, gives us a certain date* to the composition of the theological treatise preserved in this manuscript.

This treatise is found at the end of a volume containing a work of St. Ambrose, and is preceded by a miniature, representing Bishop Martin presenting his book to the King. The manuscript is on vellum, and ornamented with some other paintings. Some verses at the end form a kind of epitaph to the memory of an abbot of Luna, who suffered a violent death in the year 1145†, and this furnishes also a valuable indication for the determination of the age of the manuscript.

Two different kinds of writing appear in the fac-simile. The four lines of the title are written in vermilion, in a deformed Roman capital writing, in which all its fine proportions and elegance are lost, and thence named rustic. This capital writing is taller than wide; the A is without a cross-stroke; those of the E are very short, and generally circumflexed, as is the case also with the traverse of the T, which differs but little from I. Nearly all the bases of the letters are also curved; some of the cross-strokes are elevated; and some capitals taller than the rest occur at the beginning and middle of the words; the second stroke of the N is prolonged below the line, and the M at the end of a word, is replaced by a mark of abbreviation. On the whole, this writing is very regularly executed.

* The Bishop himself died in 580, which renders the date more precise, since the reign of the second Miro did not commence till A.D. 569 or 570.—ED.

† See Denis, *Codd. Theolog.* vol. ii. p. 1, col. 523. These verses may have been added by a later hand, for the specimen in the Plate would seem to belong to the end of the eleventh, or at latest, to the beginning of the twelfth century.—ED.

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The text also is evidently the work of a skilful scribe. After the initial G, which has a form partly Anglo-Saxon and partly Visigothic, we recognise a massive, semi-distinct Roman minuscule writing, sloping both to the right and left; the top-strokes short, thickened at the summit, and obliquely cut off; the tails also short, and sometimes pointed; the *f* reaches only to the level of the line; the *i* is without dot or accent, and the punctuation and orthography are regular. We read however *ammones* for *admones*, and *e* with a cedilla is employed for *æ*. All these palæographical characters agree with the preceding indications, which fix the date of the volume to the twelfth century.

PLATE CCLVII.

MINUSCULE CAPETIAN WRITING OF GERMANY.

XIIth CENTURY.

LATIN GOSPELS OF THE MONK LIUTOLD, AT VIENNA.

THE manuscript from which the accompanying Plate is copied, (folio 13 *verso*,) affords a further proof of the general use of the Capetian writing, at the same period, in Germany and in France. This is a fact fully ascertained, and is naturally explained by the unavoidable degradation to which the Roman writing, renovated under the influence of Charlemagne, was gradually subject. France and Germany simultaneously received this benefit, and equally permitted its gradual decay; so that when the first French king of the third race endeavoured to restore writing to the state of purity it had gained under the chief of the second race, Germany, as well as France, participated in the advantage, and the Capetian writing was generally adopted, at least for manuscripts, in both countries.

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A new degradation, however, succeeded in course of time, owing to the depraved taste of the period; the straight and rounded forms of the Capetian writing, in its nearest approach to the Caroline, gradually became broken and angular, and the multiplicity of its angles increased in proportion to the corruption of the writing. This may be asserted to be the surest test of the age of manuscripts in the Capetian style of writing.

In all investigations which depend upon the eye, the approximation and comparison of objects is the surest mode of arriving at the truth. If, therefore, the reader will compare the present Plate with that of the Evangeliary of the monastery of Nieder-Altach, (Pl. CCLIII.,) he will perceive in both the same Capetian minuscule writing, although one specimen is of the eleventh, and the other of the twelfth century; but from what has been advanced above, the degeneration of this writing ought to be more visible in one of these manuscripts than in the other, and the less ancient, that of the twelfth century, ought to exhibit a more decided alteration of the Capetian in its approach to the modern Gothic, and this is precisely the case.

We accordingly observe in the present fac-simile, that the writing is closer, less firm and bold; an angle appears at the beginning and end of each straight stroke, whilst there is only one at the beginning, in the other manuscript; here the top-strokes are tipped with an irregular curved stroke, whilst in the other they are regularly obliquely truncated; the tails are here diagonally cut off, and angularly prolonged towards the body of the letter, which does not appear in the former; the loop of the *h* here extends below the line, which deformity does not appear in the other; contractions, mostly unusual, here abound, as *m* for *men*, *ee* for *esse*, *n* for *non**, whilst

* Read *nom* by the French editors, who are, moreover, mistaken in stating, that such abbreviations are unusual.—Ed.

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they are only few and ordinary in the former manuscript. The chief peculiarities, therefore, of the present fac-simile, are, in reality, imperfections, and must be considered as so many proofs of the degeneration of the Capetian writing, and of the less ancient date of the manuscript, when compared with the one from Nieder-Altach. This conclusion is further corroborated by the testimony of the manuscript itself, which bears the name of the scribe in these lines:—

Liutoldus monachus, qui multa labore patravit,—
Scripsit et istud opus . pro posse suo decoravit,

which form a portion of some verses written at the beginning of the volume. Liutold, who wrote and ornamented this manuscript, was a monk of Mondsee, in Austria, and composed a poetical history of the foundation of his monastery; and it is known that he lived during the time of Abbot Walther, in the middle of the twelfth century. He was both a calligrapher and a chrysographer, for the manuscript is ornamented with paintings; the four Evangelists are represented on so many separate pages, painted on a golden ground; the tables of the Eusebian canons are very richly designed; some of the leaves are colored purple, and miniatures, illustrating the events of the life of Christ, occur in several parts of the text, the orthography of which presents various irregularities. The volume is in folio, and consists of 192 leaves. It was originally richly bound, and enriched with holy relics, but is now in an ordinary binding. It is numbered LXXXI, (3307,) in the Supplement by Denis* to the Catalogue of the Imperial Library at Vienna.

* Tom. ii. pt. i. col. 126, from which this account is borrowed.—Ed.

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PLATE CCLVIII.

MINUSCULE LUDOVICIAN WRITING OF GERMANY.

XIIIth CENTURY.

ROMANCE OF TRISTAN, IN GERMAN, AT MUNICH.

THE French prose romance of *Tristan de Léonois* holds the first place, as a literary composition, among the Romances of the Round Table, but it is fair to state, that its author, Luces, knight and lord of the castle of Gast, near Salisbury, did no more than to put into French prose, and prodigiously amplify the mystic legend of Tristan, already written in verse by the English minstrels*; among whom was Thomas of Erceldoune, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and who appears only to have imitated the minstrels or *trouvères* of Cornwall, who had commemorated the exploits of Tristan, their national hero, in the Welsh language. This hero was not without an illustrious pedigree; his father was Meliadus, King of Léonois, in Britanny, who sent a challenge to Morholt, King of Cornwall, whose daughter Isabel he had espoused. She died in giving birth to Tristan, who, on his arrival at manhood, killed King Morholt, brother of the Queen of Ireland, wife of Argius, and mother of Yseult *la Blonde*. Tristan had married, against his will, Yseult *aux blanches mains*, daughter of Howel, King of Nantes. He was commissioned

* As the first part of the French prose romance of Tristan was undoubtedly composed by Luces de Gast before the end of the twelfth century, it could in nowise be indebted to the English metrical version of the middle of the thirteenth (at earliest) ascribed to Thomas of Erceldoune. See note in Warton's *Hist Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 9, ed. 1840.—ED.

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to demand Yseult la Blonde in marriage for his uncle, King Mark, and, unknown to him, a magic philtre inspired him with a passion for this Yseult, which caused the death of both the lovers at the same moment: "Bras à bras, et bouche à bouche, moururent li dui amant; et demourèrent en tele manière ambraciés. Mort sont amdui (*tous deux*), et par amor, sans autre confort."

The romance history of Tristan de Léonois was universally read in the middle ages. It was originally written in Latin (according to some doubtful authorities), and then successively translated into Spanish from the Latin, or more likely from the English; into French prose from the Latin, if it ever existed, and subsequently from the Spanish; into French verse, from another idiom; into the romance language of the Troubadours (a text cited very circumstantially by Rambaud, Count of Orange, a distinguished troubadour, who died about 1173); and into Danish, several times printed*; it was also popular in Flanders and Germany, the poets of which countries, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, frequently recount the loves of Tristan and the *blonde Yseult*†.

In Italy, always so spiritual and poetic, the misfortunes of Tristan were only known by prose translations from the French romances. But, as Ginguené, the able historian of Italian literature, remarks, the two interesting fictions of

* The whole of the preceding paragraph is a tissue of errors, which it would take a long note to rectify. The Romance was not translated into *Spanish* either from the *Latin* or *English*, nor into French from the *Spanish*, nor into French verse from "*another idiom.*" There is an *Icelandic* translation made from the *French*, in the year 1226, and still inedited, and a more recent *Danish* version, said to be printed by Rahbeck, in 1830.—Ed.

† Ferrario, *Storia ed. analisi degli Romanz, di Cavalleria*, tom. ii. p. 323 [8vo., 1828].—P. Paris, *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibl. du Roi*, tom. i. p. 192, *et seq.* [8vo., 1836].—Fr. Michel, *Tristan. Poëmes relatifs à ses aventures*, tom. i., *Introd.* [12mo., 1835].—Raynouard, *Choix des poesies des Troubadours* [8vo., 1816–1821].

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Lancelot and Tristan did not for a long period inspire the Italian muse, and it was not until a late period that they were versified, and then very imperfectly. Dante names Tristan among the unfortunate lovers; Bojardo, Ariosto, and Petrarch did not forget him; and the story penetrated even to Constantinople, where it was imitated in modern Greek.

The Germans were not content with merely citing this romance, they transplanted it into their own language, and Godfrey of Strasburg made Tristan the subject of a poem in verse as early as the first half of the thirteenth century. This poem is contained in the manuscript which has furnished the present Plate, and belongs to the Royal Library of Munich. (*Cod. Germ.* 50.) Godfrey states in his work, that he had found great difficulty in obtaining an authentic history of Tristan, of which he was acquainted with several versions, and that he had adopted that of Thomas of Britanny, who was well versed in the Breton books. It was from this guide that he composed his poem, but death surprised him before he had completed it, and his work terminates with the marriage of Tristan with Yseult aux blanches mains. The poem was continued by Ulrich von Turheim, another poet, who wrote about the year 1240; and it is in this form that the German version of Tristan has been published by E. von Groote, at Berlin, in 1821, and subsequently, in 1823, at Breslau, by F. H. Von der Hagen*.

The fac-simile will prove that the Munich manuscript unites in itself the excellencies most to be desired in such a volume, namely, the importance of the text, the age of the copy, and the addition of miniatures representing the chief subjects of the poem. In the drawings copied in the Plate, Tristan is represented constantly in the act of avenging himself against the troublesome King Mark, and against the pilgrim, who plays a great part in his adventures. In these

* With another continuation by Hainrich von Friberg.

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miniatures the names of the different personages are inscribed above their heads, in a handwriting which appears to be the same with that of the text.

The manuscript is written in double columns, divided into strophes of unequal length, each of which commences with a large plain capital, sometimes Roman and sometimes Gothic, variously colored*. The text is in a German Gothic elegant minuscule, mingled with Capetian and renovated letters; small, nearly round, angular, pointed, and upright; the *m* and *n* open; the top-strokes clavate, and leaning towards the left; the tails straight and truncated; the *i* without point or accent, and the letters not divided; its period being that when the good Capetian style became Gothic, during the reign of St. Louis.

PLATE CCLIX.

MODERN GOTHIC GERMAN WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

POEMS OF THE ANCIENT GERMAN MINNESINGERS.

THE most ancient monuments of German literature, those which extend as far back as the ninth century, are impressed with the religious ideas of the period to which they belong. At a later date, historical narrations, true or accredited, (which with the majority is the same thing,) inspired the reciters in prose or verse. Subsequently the progress of social manners, and the development of good or evil passions, arising from the progress of civilization, together with the culture of the mind

* In the Plate, these letters are gold.—ED.

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and the exercise of the moral faculties, gave another tone to poetry, and light and amorous verses amused the leisure of the period. Germany, as early as the twelfth century, had her *Niebelungen* and her *Minnesingers*, who were her trouvères and troubadours, singing of love and the ladies, and celebrating the prowess and misfortunes of heroes illustrious in the annals of chivalry.

It is affirmed, that Charlemagne was their precursor, and that he wrote verses with his own hand, which the Frankish writers had composed in honor of their heroes; but this collection is lost, and the traces of it have been sought for in the poems of later days, and even in the works of the *Minnesingers*, or singers of love*. This is a name by which originally a joyous association of Suabian poets was designated, who flourished from the year 1138 to 1347; but the name is now applied in a more general sense to the ancient German poets, whose works have descended to us collected in volumes, some of which possess great value from their antiquity, as is the case with the manuscript from which the accompanying fac-simile has been made.

This manuscript is of a large folio size, and is composed of 428 leaves of strong, well-chosen vellum, written in double columns, in black ink, with the titles and initials in red. This immense volume is one of the most precious of those in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, (No. 7266,) and its history is marked with circumstances as important as the volume itself.

Towards the commencement of the fourteenth century, the knight Ruedger Manesse von Maneck, member of the Council of Zurich, caused to be transcribed in this volume the works of 140 of the ancient German poets, and illustrated by a great number of paintings of the same size as the text, repre-

* *Minne* (love), *singen* (to sing), are Frankish words, according to G. Gley, *Langue des Francs*, p. 267.

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senting the chief personages in the poems, with their coats of arms. At the end of the sixteenth century the family of Manesse became extinct, and the volume passed into that of the Barons of Hohensax, and thence into the hands of the Elector Palatine, Frederic V. In 1607 it was in the library of the University of Heidelberg, about which period the Elector placed it under lock and key in his own palace; but the manuscript was removed thence in 1622, when Heidelberg was taken by Maximilian I., Duke of Bavaria, who carried off the library as part of the spoils. It is not known how the volume found its way into France; it was, however, in the possession of the celebrated brothers Jacques and Pierre Dupuy, and on the death of the latter, in 1656, it passed into the Bibliothèque du Roi, to which all their manuscripts had been bequeathed, amounting to about 300 in number. The manuscript of the Minnesingers has since been bound in red morocco, with the royal arms on the cover.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, the Swiss Cantons, by a diplomatic arrangement, obtained the loan of this precious volume, which was made use of for the edition published by Breitinger in 1758-9; but for such an indulgence it required a *lettre de cachet* of Louis XV. A new edition of the Minnesingers has been published by the learned Von der Hagen, at Leipsic, in 1838, the first and second volumes of which contain the text of the present manuscript.

Each page has two columns, and each column several strophes or couplets; the lines of the verses not being separated. The first paragraph in the first column has six lines, which contain the following seven lines in rhyme:—

Klageliche not. da bewante da man mich f. verderben wil
clage ich von der minne. hey minnen spil.
dc si mir gebot. durhdich lide ich sendes kumbers alze vil.
dc ich mine sinne.

The text of the manuscript has here been followed, in

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which the dot indicates the end of the lines rather than the punctuation of the sentences. The author of the verses is named Hesso von Rinach*.

There is but little to remark in regard to the writing, which is one of the numerous varieties of the modern Gothic, and which is rather tall than round, very slightly sloping, and distinguished by a regularity and moderate use of angular strokes, so as not to differ very greatly from the elongated Roman minuscule; thus corresponding with the age assigned to the manuscript, namely, the beginning of the fourteenth century.

PLATE CCLX.

MODERN GOTHIC GERMAN MINUSCULE WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

ANCIENT GERMAN POEMS IN THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY OF VIENNA.

THE present fac-simile is the second specimen of German Gothic writing, taken from manuscripts which contain the earliest German poems. It is copied from a manuscript in the Imperial Library of Vienna, and the language and style of the pieces it contains are similar to those previously described in the Paris manuscript of the Minnesingers; their subjects, however, are entirely different.

The Vienna manuscript is a quarto volume on vellum, containing 175 leaves, written in double columns, the text in black ink and the titles rubricated; it is of the fourteenth century, and bears the No. 428.

* See Von der Hagen's edition, tom. i., p. 210, and tom. ii., p. 147.

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The learned German writers who have studied this monument of their national language, refer the age of the poems that it contains to the time of the emperors of the house of Suabia, and to a period contemporary with the Minnesingers. The volume contains as many as 271 pieces in verse, the first 34 of which are religious, treating upon God, the Holy Ghost and its gifts, the fall of the angels, the Virgin, and the salvation of man; and the remainder consists of fables or apologues.

Several similar collections are known in Germany, especially a manuscript in the library of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, at Strasburg, and a very ancient edition (1461) printed at Bamberg. Scherzius, Benecke, Lessing, and Oberlin, have devoted their labors to the publication and critical illustration of these precious monuments of German literature; and the learned Denis, who has described many of the manuscripts of the Library of Vienna, informs us*, that from an attentive comparison of the text of these fables and apologues with the printed editions†, it appears that the 237 poems of the Vienna manuscript are entirely distinct from the pieces previously published, and are to be ascribed to an author, whose mode of treatment of the same subjects (derived for the most part from the ancient Greek and Latin fabulists) differs from, without being inferior to, that of his fellow-laborers. The name of this German fabulist is unknown, but in the 210th poem of the Vienna manuscript it is stated, that he had a taste for travelling, and had visited Portugal, Paris, and Halle in Saxony.

The fac-simile is copied from the 35th piece, which is the first of the fables. This number is written in Roman

* Vol. i, col. 1378.—Ed.

† See the *Fabeln aus den Zeiten der Minnesinger*, 12mo., Zurich, 1757. —Ed.

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numerals between the columns in the first line. The first verses are to be read :—

Ein man sprach ze sinem wibe,
an unser zweir libe,
tut got grohher ungenaden schin,
daz er uns lat so armen sin,

being the commencement of a dialogue between a man and his wife. The last piece in this collection is a drinking song in 23 couplets, all ending with the same *refrain.*

The writing of this manuscript deserves some attention. It is a small modern Gothic minuscule, broad, close, almost without angles, and leaning toward the left; the words divided, without punctuation, and rarely abbreviated. The page commences with a closed Gothic capital E, and the alternate lines have a small capital initial of the same kind; the top-strokes of the minuscules are tall and transversely truncated; and the tails, in general, short, not tipped, or ending with an acute stroke bent upwards. This German Gothic minuscule, still partially Roman in its forms, is not destitute of elegance, and belongs unquestionably to the fourteenth century*.

* Notwithstanding these hyper-critical remarks, this manuscript is certainly older than the Paris copy of the Minnesingers, and, in my opinion, belongs to the *thirteenth* century. Compare Pl. CCLVIII.—Ed.

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PLATE CCLXI.

GERMAN GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

CHRONICLES OF AUSTRIA, BY JANS ENNICHEL.

THE manuscript from which the accompanying fac-simile is copied, belongs to the Imperial Library of Vienna, (No. 2733,) and was previously in the Palatine Library, to which it was removed, in 1665, from the library of Ambras, in the Tyrol, by the celebrated librarian Lambecius. From the descriptions given of this manuscript, it appears eminently remarkable for its graphic excellence. It is classed among the manuscripts of profane history, and its contents, consisting of various works, both in prose and verse, justify such a classification; three of the works being connected with the history of Austria, whilst the fourth consists of a rhythmical history of the Old Testament.

It is from the first of these works that the fac-simile has been taken, which is written in prose, and treats of the limits of Austria and Styria, followed by a history of the princes of those two countries, in verse, and a genealogy of the hereditary dukes and margraves, partly in verse and partly in prose.

The learned in Germany, who manifest so patriotic a regard for all the documents illustrative of their national history, have ascertained that the real name of the author of these annals is *Jansen Ennichel* or *Enenkel*, who thus writes his name in some passages of his work, and who is regarded as a writer of the middle of the thirteenth century. His works, therefore, are of great philological interest in Germany, being written in the Austrian dialect; and texts of this kind

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are very rare of so early a date. It may be added, that this purely chronological fact has increased the fame of the humble annalist, since, on account of his antiquity, his name has been inscribed in the genealogical tree of the family of Enenkel, Barons of Albrechtburg, Hoheneck, and Goldeck; but the metropolitan Smitmer of Vienna has overthrown this assumption.

The three historical works of Jansen Enenkel have been included in the collection published at Vienna, in 1793, by Adrian Rauch*, containing the chronicles and charters of the middle ages relative to the history of the Austrian States, their provinces, and chief towns.

The text of the manuscript, as exhibited in the Plate, is given also in Rauch's collection (tom. i., p. 243). This first page of the work will suffice to shew the care taken in the graphic execution of the original, and the great regularity of its massive and wide minuscule writing. The words are well divided; some of the letters conjoined, as *de*, *vo*, but without confusion; the tails are short, and ending in a hair-stroke bent upwards; the top-strokes also very short, are thickened at the summit, and truncated with a concave or slanting stroke. Larger letters of the same kind are used as majuscule initials; the *i* has neither accent nor dot†; and a single point is the only stop used in the text. The following is the reading of the top lines, the large initial D being supplied, which should have occupied the blank space left for it in the manuscript.

[D]er Hertzog Hainrich mit den Greim dinget dem Marchgraven Otachern von Steyr sein aygen swaz des waz von Longenawe, mit vliezunden wazzern, und mit regen wazzern, ze peden seitten untz in di muer und, *etc.*

The text is here transcribed literally, and presents some

* Adr. Rauch, *Rerum Austriac. Scriptores*, Vindob. 1793–4, tom. i., pp. 233 *et seq.*

† This is not correct throughout, as shewn by the fac-simile.—Ed.

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differences from the text published by M. Rauch, although from the same manuscript. The text of this manuscript belongs to the fourteenth century.

The title in cursive writing at the top of the page is modern, and of the time when the volume received the No. 161 in the catalogue, either in the Ambras, Palatine, or Imperial Libraries.

PLATE CCLXII.

GERMAN MODERN GOTHIC WRITING.

THE XIVTH CENTURY.

GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE ROMANCE OF LANCELOT.

In describing the fine manuscript of the French romance of Lancelot du Lac, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, No. 6964, (Pl. CLXXXVIII.,) some account has been given of this chivalrous hero, and the place which pertains to him among the knights of the immortal Round Table, as well as the prodigious success of this rich composition, its powerful influence on the amelioration of French manners, and its ready reception into the languages of other countries. Versions more or less faithful, or more or less altered, according to the taste of the translators, (probably desirous of escaping from too servile an imitation), appeared almost simultaneously in all the learned countries of Europe. Italy had its "*Illustre et famosa istoria di Lancilotto dal Lago, che fu al tempo del re Artu,*" subsequently printed with the permission of the Pope; and the authors of the Italian *Vocabulario della Crusca* often cite an Italian translation both of Lancelot and of Tristan, which had

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been made from a more ancient version in the Provençal language. No trace remains of the latter work, but the German translation, of which the present Plate offers an exact fac-simile, contains vestiges of the existence of the old romance in the Provençal tongue. The manuscript from which it is copied is preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna, (No. 9, among the German poetry,) having previously been marked No. 422 in the library at Ambras. This fine volume contains the romance of *Lancelot du Lac* in German verse, and in the Suabian dialect. Its author was Ulrich von Zazichoven, one of the most celebrated of the German Minnesingers, and of the number of those who, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, introduced, by the effect of their poetical genius, great ameliorations into the German language and poetry.

Ulrich von Zazichoven furnishes us himself with two valuable notices relative to his work. He declares, that a knowledge of the original work which he had translated into the German language was acquired by him at the time King Richard Cœur de Lion was a prisoner of Leopold, Duke of Austria and of the Emperor Henry VI., which took place in the year 1192; thus giving the beginning of the thirteenth century as the period when Ulrich made the romance of Lancelot known to his countrymen. He further informs us, that Arnaud Daniel was the author of the poem which he had translated; a statement of peculiar interest in connexion with the literary history of France, as it corroborates the assertion of the *Cruscanti*, when they cite a romance of Lancelot in the Provençal language. Arnaud Daniel, named by Ulrich, really wrote in this language, as Dante informs us. His master, Guido Guinicelli, points out a shade to him in purgatory, as being that of a poet who in verses of love and prose romance surpassed in his mother-tongue all his rivals; and

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upon Dante begging the poet to declare his name, he replies in the Provençal tongue,

Jeu sui Arnautz, che plor e vaï cantan. (*Il Purgatorio*, xxvi. 142.)

and this is without doubt the same Arnaud Daniel who was the author of Lancelot in the romance language. Tasso has also repeated the indications given by Dante, and Pulci, in his *Morgante Maggiore*, attributes to Arnaud Daniel a second romance in Provençal prose, of which Rinaldo was the subject.

These various circumstances sufficiently inform us of the origin and date of the poem of Lancelot in German verse. Many ancient copies of it exist; one in the Vatican Library, in which the author is named Sebenhoven; the Royal Library of Munich possesses also a fine copy. Extracts from the one at Vienna have been published by Gottschedd, and from the Vatican copy by Adelung*. It is not probable, that the manuscripts of the Vatican or Munich are superior to that of Vienna, in respect to its fine execution. The fac-simile in the Plate shews us a modern Gothic German minuscule, very regularly and gracefully written. It is far removed from the fine forms of the Capetian, but is not yet corrupted by the Gothic deformities properly so called. This minuscule is massive, round, and slightly angular; with the top-strokes tall, and sometimes clavate, obliquely truncated, or ending in a short flourish; the tails are often short, and terminate in a prolonged diagonal stroke; the *i* is accented; abbreviations are frequent, and the letters are conjoined, although the words are wide apart; the loop of the *h* extends below the line; the capitals at the commencement of the paragraphs are purely Gothic, and the initial letter of the text is a zoomorphic S, formed of a monstrous serpent, the tail of which terminates in

* See Von der Hagen and Büsching, *Litterarischer Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie*, 8vo., p. 151. Berl. 1812.—Ed.

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a group of leaves. A man in a monastic habit and the figure of a centaur are added at the sides of this letter, but do not add to its elegance. All these characters indicate this Vienna manuscript as a fine example of the commencement of the fourteenth century*.

PLATE CCLXIII.

MODERN GOTHIC WRITING OF GERMANY.

SECOND HALF OF THE XIVTH CENTURY.

LATIN GOSPELS, WRITTEN BY JOHN OF OPPAW.

ALTHOUGH the Latin text represented in the present Plate is only the subscription of the scribe by whom the volume from which it is copied was executed, it presents a complete fac-simile of the manuscript itself, which is entirely written in letters of gold, like the six lines of the Plate. This rich and precious volume belongs to the Imperial Library of Vienna, (No. 982,) and is described in the catalogue of theological manuscripts of that library, (tom. i., p. 120,) compiled by the Jesuit Michael Denis, an able bibliographer and poet, who died in 1800, and whose name is honorably included in the list of learned men and excellent poets of Germany, where he has been termed the Bard of the Danube. He thus describes this copy of the Gospels :—" This magnificent volume contains 191 leaves of vellum, of a large folio size, and is entirely written in letters of gold. Large historiated initials occur at the beginning of each chapter, and the letters of the verses and titles, with the marks of punctuation, are in diffe-

* It belongs, certainly, to the *thirteenth* century, and is full a century earlier than the fac-simile in the preceding Plate.—ED.

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rent colors. Each page is inclosed within a golden border, with a colored floreated ornament at each corner. It is at once a monument of human art and of human patience. It contains the four Gospels, according to the Vulgate version. On the *verso* of the first leaf is a large miniature, representing in compartments twelve subjects from the life of St. Matthew; and the four angles are decorated with the arms of Styria, Austria, the Tyrol, and Carinthia. The letter L, in the word *Evangelium**, occupies the whole of the third page, and is ornamented by the representation of a concert executed by angels, playing on different instruments, and the remaining space is filled by five series of human heads, probably representing the genealogy of Christ. The Gospel of St. Mark commences on the *verso* of fol. 55, the life of this Evangelist being also figured in several compartments, accompanied by the coats of arms above mentioned. This is also the case with fol. 91, on which St. Luke's Gospel begins, with the representations of the events of his life, (the introductory verses to Theophilus being omitted,) and also with fol. 148, where the Gospel of St. John commences, with his hagiography delineated in several miniatures. The initial letters of these three Gospels are very remarkable, as is also that of St. Matthew. The division of the text into chapters differs somewhat from the printed editions, and there are some various readings in the text, but of little importance."

To complete the interest so magnificent a work of art must awaken, the scribe has not omitted to inform us of his name and ecclesiastical dignity, as well as the date when this *chef d'œuvre* of calligraphy was executed; all these circumstances are stated in the fac-simile, which is to be read:—

* The French editors have misunderstood their Latin authority, which says, "Ita init *Evangelium*, ut sola litera L totam faciat paginam," thereby intimating, that the large L is the initial of the first words of the Gospel, *Liber generationis*.—Ed.

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Et ego Joh*ann*es de Oppavia, p*res*biter, Canonic*us* Brunnensis, Plebanus in Lantskrona, hunc librum cum auro purissimo de penna scripsi, illuminavi, atq*ue*, Deo cooperante, c*om*plevi, in anno domini Millesi*mo*, trecentesimo, sexages*imo*, VIII°.

This subscription informs us, that the volume was written and illuminated by John of Oppaw, (Troppau, a town of Austrian Silesia,) a priest and canon of Brunn, (in Moravia,) and curate of Lantskrone; and that, with God's help, the work was completed in the year 1368; which date proves that the modern Gothic writing had then arrived at its highest state of perfection in Germany.

The writing is large, massive, tall, and angular; the summits of the strokes being angularly truncated, the bases with an incurved angle, or bend; the top-strokes and tails very short, and the former sometimes forked, but generally concave. Some of the letters are flourished, and the lines are alternately in blue and gold, surrounded by a golden border, ornamented with four colored flowers at the corners.

From the four shields of arms placed in the initial pages of the Gospels, Denis concluded that the volume was executed by order of Albert III., Duke of Austria, or that it had been intended as a present to that prince; and in this case, the genealogy represented in the open space of the L, at the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel, might be that of his family. In the following century the volume belonged to the Emperor Frederick III. On the *verso* of the first leaf is his motto, consisting of the five vowels, A, E, I, O, U, and the date 1444; and it is to this sovereign that the volume is indebted for its silver-gilt cover, on the clasps of which the same motto, with the date 1446, are engraved.

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PLATE CCLXIV.

CAPITAL AND MINUSCULE GOTHIC WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

LATIN EVANGELIARIUM OF THE ABBEY OF WEIHENSTEPHAN.

THE specimen of Gothic writing here reprcsented deserves attention on several accounts. It contains four lines of capital letters, which are very rarely employed in manuscripts, and the date of the volume itself is perfectly ascertained.

The Benedictine authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* inform us, that in Germany the capital writing did not differ from the Caroline during the ninth and tenth centuries; but that in the following century its disfigurement commenced, and that by an ill-judged mixture of letters of a different kind, its degeneration sensibly continued, until it arrived at the barbarous writing termed Gothic.

The Gothic capitals were often employed in inscriptions on stone and metals, but were so rarely used in manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, that the Benedictines were only able to discover a very small number of instances. In the titles of the numerous volumes which they examined, written in modern Gothic writing, they only found minuscule letters of larger dimensions than usual, and initial letters alone form an exception to this rule, in regard to manuscripts executed since the thirteenth century. Palæographers, therefore, cannot but receive with interest the fac-simile in the Plate now before them, in which specimens may be found of various kinds of capital letters in the middle of the fifteenth century.

This fac-simile is copied from a folio manuscript on vellum

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belonging to the royal library of Munich (No. 39,) obtained in 1804; previous to which period it was in the library of the Benedictine abbey at Weihenstephan, near Freisingen, in Upper Bavaria.

This volume contains the Lessons from the Gospels for the festivals throughout the year, and is enriched with eight miniatures on vellum, painted in oil-colors. On the 30th leaf is an inscription in red ink, commencing with these words, —*Anno Dn̄i.* 1462. *Reverend. in Xp̄o. Pat*[*er*] *et Dn̄s Johēs, abbas*, etc., which gives us the date of the manuscript. Each page is ruled with a plummet, so as to leave four broad margins, within which the text is written, and each line of the text is inclosed between two horizontal lines ruled in the same manner.

The initial letter of the fac-simile is a gigantic I of gold, ornamented with a pattern in its interior, and drawn on a colored parallelogram, relieved with a white scroll border. In the middle of the side of the letter is a superfluous roundel, and it is dilated at each end, from which spring outline arabesques of flowers and fruits, of great beauty. This I is the first letter of the second line of the text.

The top line is formed of the words SECUNDUM LUCAM, written in large Gotnic capitals, very tall, close, bold, and twisted; some of the letters approaching to the uncial form, but the whole evidently traced by the caprice of the scribe. Thus, the two letters M differ entirely from each other, the first being imitated from the Caroline or renovated Roman capital, and the other the uncial minuscule; the V, N, and D are not less fanciful.

The second line IN ILLO TEMPORE, is also in Gothic capitals, but smaller and more regular, although mixed and more imitative of the semi-uncial, mingled with an angular and twisted minuscule; the E being either lunar-shaped, like an uncial, or rectangular, as in the pure Roman. The

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first letter I in this line is also distinguished by a superfluous dot on the side. The two succeeding lines, INGRESSVS IHESUS, are written in modern Gothic capitals, of a more characteristic kind; massive, wide, and angular, with the bases and summits dilated; some of the letters (I and V) are decorated with superfluous dots or strokes, and the E is quite closed. The next line, PERAMBULABAT IHE[*richo*], nearly resembles the second line in form.

The text itself is written in a large, massive, close, Gothic minuscule, the letters conjoined and sometimes united; the words not divided*, and the phrases punctuated; the top-strokes short, and truncated obliquely, or clavate; the tails very short, and either cut off diagonally, or with an angle bent upwards. The abbreviations are numerous, and sometimes unusual†; thus a dot above the letters *eat* is intended for *erat*; a small *i* over *pnceps*, for *princeps;* the word *Ihesus* is written *ihc* (in imitation of the Greek); and *optet*, with a bar below the *p*, for *oportet.* The *i* is often marked with a hair-stroke, and nearly all the upright strokes are terminated by a hair-line, bent upwards. The general aspect of the writing is regular and satisfactory, but it is crowded together without taste, so that one line almost stifles the next. It is, nevertheless, very legible, and presents no difficulty. This fac-simile is taken from chapter XIX of the Gospel of St. Luke.

* Not correct; the words are often divided.—ED.

† Not at all; they are the usual contractions of this and the preceding century.—ED.

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PLATE CCLXV.

GERMAN GOTHIC WRITING.

XVTH CENTURY.

LATIN LECTIONARIUM OF THE COMMUNAL LIBRARY OF ROUEN.

The manuscript from which the present fac-simile has been copied, is a folio volume written on vellum, the binding of which bears the date of 1569, stamped on the upper cover. This cover is ornamented in compartments, on which various religious subjects have been impressed, several times repeated.

The volume commences on the *verso* of the first leaf, with a figure of St. Matthew writing his Gospel; then follow, on other leaves, similar figures of Mark, Luke, and John, but after these figures is added only a small portion of the text of their respective Gospels.

With these is mixed up a catalogue of relics, and a Sermon of St. Augustine, commencing in the middle of the volume, and which, after an interruption of many pages, terminates on the last. From these circumstances it may be inferred with some probability, that this manuscript is only a collection of scattered leaves, collected into a volume in 1569.

Various literary persons have examined this manuscript, and some have thought its characters to be those of the twelfth century, whilst others have fixed it to the thirteenth, neither of which opinions is at all satisfactory. Each of the Evangelists, whose figures are here represented, holds a pen and not a calamus in his hand, as well as a cutting instrument, like a pen-knife. It is true, that Peter the Venerable, in the tenth century, used pens; but these paintings seem to be

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imitations of a much more ancient style, and the pen substituted for the calamus or style, and, consequently, executed at a much more recent period.

Moreover, we find mentioned in the catalogue of relics possessed by the church for which this Lectionarium was written, those of St. Peter, Archbishop of the Tarentaise, who died in 1174, and was canonised by Pope Celestin III. in 1191; and this date leads to the supposition, that his relics could not have been disseminated among the Christian churches until after the commencement of the thirteenth century*.

The different kinds of writing employed are referable to a still more recent date; they are purely modern Gothic, as free as possible from the Roman forms, but most perfect in angular lines and in capricious but well-designed ornaments.

After the figure of St. Mark, whose name is written in a scroll round his head, follows the title of his Gospel in five lines of large capital letters of double strokes, sometimes blank and sometimes solid, the former having been subsequently filled in with colors. The latter, or solid letters, are isolated, and have their full strokes very thick, without any hair-strokes†. The letters N, C, U, M, E, and even A, are closed; the V is doubled in the word EWANGELII, as it is also in the text, where *linguarum* is written *lingwarum*. A stop, in form like a rose, separates some of the words of this title, which consists of fine specimens of Gothic capitals, with superfluous ornamental strokes. We may further notice the

* All this is a mere waste of argument, since the peculiar forms of writing and execution of the manuscript, unquestionably demonstrate a German writing of the second half of the *fifteenth* century.—ED.

† The fac-simile in the Plate does not enable us to recognize such a distinction between the *blank* and *solid* letters. They are evidently all executed by the same hand at the same time, and with the exception of color, are precisely similar in style, and common to other German manuscripts of the same period.—ED.

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singular conjunction of D and V*, in the word SECUNDUM in the fifth line. The initial letter of the text, F, and the U which follows are equally capricious; the first being plain, with a double line outside the cross-bar and a portion of the first stroke, and the second flourished in the interior, and dentated. The remainder of the text is a fine Gothic minuscule, tall, and massive; the top-strokes thickened at the summit, and prolonged into very fine superfluous strokes; all the upright strokes terminate in a hair-line bent upwards. These are the characters of the fine German Gothic writing of the fifteenth century, such as it appears in the printed books of the same period.

St. Godard or Gothard, *Godehardus*, Bishop of Hildesheim, in Hesse, is one of the saints whose relics are named in the list above mentioned; and hence it may be concluded, as well as by the character of the writing, that this manuscript belonged to a church in Germany. It was sold a few years ago in a public sale at Paris.

PLATE CCLXVI.

GERMAN WRITING.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE XVITH CENTURY.

TYPOGRAPHY, BY ALBERT DURER.

THE title of this article will at once serve to indicate the singularity of the subject of the accompanying Plate, which represents a printed instead of a written text, the margins of

* This is an error. The letters are S C D M, with a mark of contraction above.—ED. *

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which are ornamented with an invaluable series of designs, by the hand of a celebrated master, who composed at the same time these designs and the types employed for printing the text. The following is a notice of this volume, unique in the history of the arts.

The Emperor, Maximilian I. composed an historical romance* under the title of *Tewrdannckh*, in which he introduced the principal events of his own life. For the printing of this work, the Emperor desired Albert Durer to design the types, according to his own taste. This illustrious artist, who was at once painter, engraver, architect, mathematician, and a distinguished writer, forthwith obeyed the command, and the first edition of the *Tewrdannckh* was published at Nuremberg in 1517†, and is generally admired for the elegance of its characters and fine execution.

Another folio volume on vellum exists, containing Latin Prayers and psalms, which appears to have been printed in 1515 at Augsburg or Nuremberg, by the same Albert Durer, and with the same characters as the *Tewrdannckh;* and it has been supposed, that this volume of prayers, without either title-page, name of place, or printer, and of which only a single copy is known, was merely a proof of these types of the *Tewrdannckh*, struck off in order to be submitted to the Emperor's inspection‡.

* In reality, this poem was composed by Melchior Pfinzing, on the occasion of the marriage of Maximilian with Mary of Burgundy.—Ed.

† It was printed by Hans Schönsperger, and the wood-cuts were engraved by Hans Scheiffelein.—Ed.

‡ The whole of this paragraph is very incorrect. Another and perfect copy of this Book of Prayers exists, with the name of the printer and date, and it proves to have been executed by Hans Schönsperger, in 1514. The types are not those of the *Tewrdannckh*, but much larger, and not of so cursive a character. See, in regard to this Prayer Book, an article by J. B. Bernhart, in Aretin's *Beyträge zur Geschichte u. Literatur*, bd. v., p. 87, 8vo., Münch. 1805, and *Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Durers*, von J. Heller, 8vo., Bamb. 1827, bd. ii., p. 50. *sq.*—Ed.

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But, in order still more to recommend his typographical labor, Albert Durer adorned the margins of the volume with drawings by his own hand, the subjects of which are taken both from sacred history and antique fables.

This precious volume has passed through various hands; it was in the possession of the Elector Maximilian, the hero of the thirty years' war, and was at length acquired by the Royal Library at Munich, where it is eagerly studied by artists and others.

The designs by Albert Durer commence on the sixth leaf, and are continued on the fifty leaves following. The remainder of the volume has other drawings, but they are by Lucas Cranach, and only represent animals; Cranach having, probably, been desirous to avoid all comparison between his own performances and those of the illustrious Albert Durer. All these designs were published at Munich, in 1808, by Strixner and Piloty, page for page, and of the same size and form as the original, but without the printed text. The present Plate, therefore, will give a more complete idea of the work, as representing together both the Latin printed text and the drawings of Albert Durer.

This text is the commencement of the Gospel of St. John, as indicated by the top line, *Evangelium Joannis*, printed in red, in imitation of the rubrics of MSS. The text is to be read :—

In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum: et deus erat verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt & sine ipso factum est nihil. *etc.*

The design of Albert Durer on the lower margin represents the personage who came to bear witness of the light, the Evangelist St. John, writing his book by inspiration, with his symbol, the eagle, near him; above appears the Queen of Heaven, surrounded by a glory.

The text offers a very fine specimen of the German Gothic

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writing; angular, but simple and elegant, and destitute of the many points with which it is ordinarily disfigured; such as was inspired by the fine taste of Albert Durer, at the time when the Roman writing reappeared in the typography of Italy, and was introduced on the other side of the Alps.

The monogram formed of the two letters A. D. is the ordinary mark of the celebrated composer of these designs, and the date 1515 denotes the year when this beautiful volume was executed.

PLATE CCLXVII.

GERMAN GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

KAISER-RECHT, OR IMPERIAL CONSTITUTIONS.

THIS fac-simile is copied from a manuscript of the sixteenth century, written in Germany in the modern Gothic writing, and affords one more proof that this Gothic character was not peculiar to one country, but common to the whole of Europe, and that it was retained until a very recent period. Although the Italians did not adopt it in typography, they used it in their manuscripts and public documents, among which the papal bulls may be instanced, as presenting the most deformed, distasteful, and unreadable specimens of modern Gothic extant. Gothic writing may be considered, in general, as having prevailed in Europe from the time of St. Louis to Francis I.; and if occasionally a better style of writing was adopted, it was only for copies of the Bible, books of Prayers or jurisprudence, whilst on other occasions the square, tremb-

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ling, broken, bizarre, and undecipherable Gothic letters were habitually employed.

Of all the European nations, Germany has most systematically opposed the reintroduction of the Roman characters; and up to the present day, not only in writing, but in the majority of printed works, and those too of a popular character, continues to employ the Gothic text. The Benedictines asserted, in 1755, that the Germans believed it impossible to express themselves in good German, unless it were written in Gothic letters; and added, that the use of this ugly character interfered probably with the study of the German language. It is quite true, that the Gothic has not ceased to be predominant in Germany, and still maintains its majuscule, minuscule, and cursive forms, all differing from the Roman types by the rounding of the upright or square letters, the general curvature of the perpendicular or horizontal strokes, and the prolongation of the bases and summits of the letters into bent convex lines directed towards the body of the letter (often making the writing unintelligible); as also by the sudden contrast of the full strokes with the finest hair-lines; and lastly, by the multiplicity of the points, and the breaking of the strokes into acute angles.

Nevertheless, it has been observed, that in Germany, even during the period of the general use of Gothic writing, certain public monuments were executed in Roman characters. Thus, three seals of the year 1312 are known, the legends of which are in Roman; the Emperor Frederic also used it on his seal in 1470; and lastly, in the fifteenth century, Austria appears to have generally adopted the small renovated Roman minuscule.

In the fac-simile before us may be seen a modern Gothic minuscule, large, clear, and angular, with the words divided; the bases and summits of the letters oblique; the tails pointed; the top-strokes recurved, and the phrases punc-

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tuated. The writing is fine of its kind, very regular and well proportioned, with but few abbreviations, and remarkably free from Gothic deformities; the strokes being perpendicular and not broken, and the letters composed of as few angles and points as could be possibly used. In the perfect Gothic, that is to say, in its most deformed state, the *o* has as many as six angles or points, whereas in the present MS. it has but two; it is the same also with the *e;* the *ſ* is a perpendicular stroke, rounded at top, instead of being formed with three angles; and some of the *g*'s, notwithstanding the extent of the letter, scarcely exhibit a single angle. The text is perfectly legible, and it may be regarded as one of the best specimens of the minuscule writing of the period*.

This text is copied from a large quarto manuscript, executed at the beginning of the sixteenth century† for the family of Pregkendorf, subsequently deposited in the civic library of Ratisbon, and at present in the Royal Library at Munich‡ (*Cod. Germ.*, No. 26.) This curious volume contains a copy of the Imperial Laws, (*Das Kaiser Recht,*) but it is not stated by which of the Emperors they were promulgated. The Plate contains the formula of the oath which the Jews were compelled to take, according to those Laws; the first letter of which is a plain majuscule D, upon a red arabesque ground, which is prolonged to the bottom of the page in scrolls of flowers and wheat-ears.

* Notwithstanding the praises bestowed by the MM. Champollion on this writing, it will be difficult to convince any unprejudiced person, that it is superior in regularity or beauty to the *set Gothic* in Plates CCLXIII. and CCLXIV. The difference in the present specimen does not proceed from the influence of any Roman types, but from the *cursive character* given to the writing, in order to execute it with greater rapidity, and, consequently, with less care.—Ed.

† By a mistake of the engraver, the Plate is marked of the fifteenth century.—Ed.

‡ In the French text the manuscript is stated to belong to the Imperial Library at Vienna, but the error is corrected on the Plate.—Ed.

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PLATE CCLXVIII.

GERMAN WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

[This Plate is not described by the French editors. It contains a specimen of large minuscule set Gothic writing, taken from a manuscript of the sixteenth century in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The letters of the fac-simile are white on a black ground, and are to be read:—

Deus judex justissimus potest, tanquam omnipotens, semper cor humanum mutare.

The arabesques which are introduced above and below the lines are of peculiar elegance and taste.—Ed.]

PLATE CCLXIX.

MODERN ROMAN WRITING OF GERMANY.

XVIITH CENTURY.

BOOK OF HOURS OF WILLIAM OF BADEN, PAINTED BY FREDERIC BRENTEL.

By the unanimous consent of connoisseurs, the art of design, as applied to the decoration of Books of Prayers, has never produced so perfect a volume as the one from which the two pages represented in the present Plate have been copied.

The writing is in the Roman minuscule, but will not bear

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comparison with the productions of Jarry, a contemporary French calligrapher, of whose art specimens have been previously given*. The left-hand page of the specimen in the Plate (marked p. 337) is chiefly written in another kind of Roman minuscule, termed *italic*, which is sloping, slender, close, and approaching to the cursive, and was not a novelty at the period when this manuscript was executed. Its invention is attributed to the celebrated Italian printer, Aldus Manutius, but it is only its introduction into typography that is due to him, since sloping majuscule letters were employed in ancient times. Subsequent to the year 1513, two popes, Julius II. and Leo X., gave to the Aldine characters the name of *cursive* and *chancery* writing.

The majuscules in the Plate are entirely Roman, and there is no trace of the Gothic style throughout the manuscript, although executed in a German city in the middle of the seventeenth century. A volume of such rare perfection would well deserve an entire monograph in the history of art.

It consists of 438 pages of white vellum, or 219 leaves, folded in the middle, and guarded in couples, forming together an octavo volume, bound in violet colored morocco, with unstiffened covers, lined with a watered silk; with the edges gilt, but otherwise unornamented, and enclosed within a case of the same morocco, fastened by three golden clasps. It was purchased by order of Louis XVI. for the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, where it is marked No. 705, (*Suppl. Lat.*) On the first page is read, *Officium B. Mariæ Virginis, Pii V. Pont. Max. jussu editum*, and on the back, *Office de la Vierge.* The minister Baron de Breteuil, who belonged to the King's household, arranged the purchase with M. d'Heiss, at which period the manuscript belonged to the heirs of the Prince de Conti, who had obtained it six months before his death from a canon of Strasburg, for the sum of 6000 livres. In

* See Plate CCIV.—Ed.

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1775, the same manuscript was among the precious effects of Augusta Sibylla, Margravine of Baden-Baden, which were sold by public auction at Offenburg; this Princess having acquired it as heiress of William, Margrave of Baden, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and principal judge of the Imperial chamber of Spires, who died in 1677.

It is with perfect justice that this little bijou of art, without a rival, is associated with the name of the noble personage who caused it to be executed, at his expense, by an artist whose work has secured him an everlasting celebrity. Respecting this artist there can be no doubt, since he has added his own portrait at the end of the volume, with the following subscription in letters of gold,—*Inceptum et absolutum anno* 1647 *per Fredericum Brentel, ætatis* 67. The meaning would appear to be, that Frederic Brentel had previously commenced the work, and completed it in the year 1647; since it is impossible to suppose that such a volume could have been commenced and finished even by the most rapid and skilful artist in a single year*.

The historians of art have said very little respecting this Frederic Brentel; they only state that he was born at Strasburg, in 1590, that he was the master of Johann Wilhelm Baur, and that he executed small paintings in body-colors with exquisite delicacy. None of them notice the Hours of Baden among his works.

The Plate contains a specimen of one of his body-color miniatures, which will scarcely suffice to give an adequate idea of the agreeable, vivid, and harmonious coloring, and the extreme ability displayed in the execution of the larger ones, which are reduced copies of some of the finest pictures of Rubens, Jordaens, Albert Durer, Vandyke, Wouverman, Teniers, and Breughel. Thus, the *Nativity of the Virgin*, the *Visitation*,

* Such, however, is the real interpretation of the Latin memorandum. —Ed.

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the *Birth of the Saviour*, the *Presentation in the Temple*, the *Flight into Egypt*, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, the *Last Supper*, the *Crucifixion*, and the *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, are copied from the paintings of Rubens; the *Circumcision* is from Albert Durer; and the *Flagellation* after Vandyke. Each miniature of Brentel is a copy of the work of a great master, and these miniatures, 4 inches and 10 lines high by 3 inches wide, are twenty in number; and ten other compositions are of the same width, but only two inches in height. By a piece of extreme good-fortune, a portion of this beautiful volume, from page 439 to page 472, containing five large miniatures and four small ones, which had been detached in 1775, was added to the body of the work at the time it was purchased by the King.

The shield-of-arms of Baden is emblazoned at the foot of the frontispiece, and towards the end of the volume, the Margrave William of Baden is represented kneeling at the foot of the Cross, with his armorial bearings beside him.

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§ VII. WRITINGS OF HUNGARY AND SCANDINAVIA.

PLATE CCLXX.

MINUSCULE WRITING OF HUNGARY.

XIIITH CENTURY.

[THIS Plate seems to have been added to the volume after the description of Plate CCLXXI. was written, and the French editors take no notice of it. It is copied from a manuscript in the National Museum of Pesth, of the *thirteenth* century, and contains part of a *Sermo super sepulchrum*, in Hungarian. For fuller information respecting this and the two other Hungarian manuscripts of which fac-similes are given, see the work intitled *Régi Magyar Nyecvemcékek*, edited by Döbrentei Gabor, at Buda, 2 vols., 4to., 1838-1842.—ED.

PLATE CCLXXI.

CURSIVE AND CAPITAL GOTHIC WRITING OF HUNGARY.

XIVTH CENTURY.

HUNGARIAN BIBLE IN THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY OF VIENNA.

THE Ouïgours and Magyars, originally inhabitants of Tartary, and more generally termed Hungarians, established

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themselves towards the end of the ninth century in a portion of the countries known to the Romans under the names of Pannonia, Dacia, and the country of the Jaziges, and introduced into them their language, which is classed by modern philologists in the family of the Uralian dialects (more commonly called Finnish or *Tchudic*), and in the branch of the Ouïgorian. This new power formed a redoubtable opponent to the Roman institutions, but Christianity opportunely came to their aid; their Duke Geisa demanded to be baptized, and his son Stephen having compelled the whole nation to submit to the same rite, received from the Magnates the dignity of King*; and Pope Silvester II., in confirmation of this act of the national Hungarian authority, bestowed on the new monarch a title equivalent to that of perpetual Legate of the Roman Pontiff. The Hungarian church was forthwith organized, and the Latin language preserved or regained the influence, which it had possessed from the period of the ancient establishment of the Romans.

The result of the proceedings in these countries was similar to what happens in all other kingdoms under analogous circumstances; the Latin language became that of the church, of the government, and of public documents; whilst the Hungarian mother-tongue ceased not to be the general idiom of the population, and it has so continued to be until the present day.

There are but few existing monuments of the Hungarian language of the period of the middle ages; one alone would, however, suffice to confirm the correctness of the preceding remarks, and the manuscript from which the fac-simile has been copied, may be considered a document of this class. This manuscript, in fact, contains a portion of the translation of the Bible into the ancient Hungarian language; an evident proof of its general use among the people, since a version of

* A.D. 1000. Stephen died in 1038, and was canonized.—Ed.

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the Scriptures in this idiom was considered necessary in the fourteenth century. At that period, no doubt, the original purity of the Hungarian language must have undergone some alteration, caused by the unavoidable mixture of neighbouring nations' idioms, and Latin Pannonia also must have influenced the Ouïgour-Hungarian. Northern philologists have remarked that the Hungarian language adopted a great number of Slavonic, Latin, and German words; and this observation has been pursued so far, as to point out that these adopted words generally expressed moral, scientific, or metaphysical ideas; such, in fact, as would be found in an advanced state of civilization. Thus, it becomes evident, that the victorious Hungarians, notwithstanding their numbers and force, found themselves in the midst of a social system of which they were ignorant, and acquired their civilization by the lights and experience of the nations they had conquered, in the accomplishment of which Christianity was the principal agent.

It appears, nevertheless, from the influence probably of the new religion received by the Hungarians, (for the ancient ideas of a nation are always more completely effaced by the imposition of a new idiom,) that the use of the Hungarian language was only allowed as the vulgar tongue, used by the people to express the wants of daily life; and that it was wholly excluded from the public administration, the tribunals of justice, and even from the schools, where the Latin only was taught to the entire population. In this state of things it was impossible that Hungarian literature should exist. But in the middle of the last century, the Emperor Francis I. authorized the use of the national language in all the public acts of government, and permitted it to be taught in the schools, except in those of theology and medicine. Hence Hungarian literature may be said to date from this memorable decree.

The manuscript which has furnished the present fac-simile

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is, therefore, a rare and valuable monument of the ancient state of this literature, in regard to the constitution of its idiom. The left-hand page of the fac-simile contains a translation of the first ten verses of the first chapter of the Book of Judith. The proper names of Arphaxad, Medes, Nabuchodonosor, Assyrians, Nineveh, Ragan, Euphrates, Tigris, Cilicia, Damasas, Liban, Galilæan, Samaria, Jordan, and Jerusalem, may be easily recognized; as these names are not translated, but only modified in their terminations according to the rules of the Hungarian language. This text is written in the modern Gothic cursive minuscule of the fourteenth century*, in its most deformed state, and the furthest removed from the fine Roman forms. We cannot give a more favorable opinion of the illuminated capital letters in the right-hand page; the figure of a man added to the lower capital, only adds to these deformities a grotesque character.

* The date attributed to this manuscript is decidedly erroneous. It cannot be earlier than the second half of the *fifteenth* century, and resembles much the bad German minuscule writing of that period. The peculiarity of the roundels or dots, added to some of the capital letters, when compared with those in Plate CCLXIV. may be considered an additional proof of the more recent date of this volume. Denis describes this manuscript, vol. ii., p. 68, and correctly assigns it to the fifteenth century. It contains the books of Ruth, Judith, Esther, Baruch, Daniel, the twelve Minor Prophets, and two chapters of 2 Maccabees.—Ed.

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PLATE CCLXXII.

GOTHIC MINUSCULE WRITING OF HUNGARY.

XVTH CENTURY.

THE FOUR GOSPELS, IN THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the attempts made in Hungary to extend the use of the Latin language, (as stated in the preceding article,) the use of the national language still prevailed among the people; and the priests of the Latin Church, accommodating themselves to this state of affairs, and anxious for the progress of religious instruction, lent their countenance to the translation of the books of the Old and New Testament into the native idiom. The Bible described in the preceding notice, and the Gospels* now before us, are proofs of this fact, and are to be referred to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The latter manuscript belongs to the Royal Library of Munich, marked No. 116, and is the only manuscript it possesses in this language; it formerly belonged to the ancient Ducal library. It is of a quarto form, and written upon paper, containing the four Gospels, preceded by a calendar, also in the Hungarian language, but written on vellum. The text is in black ink, but some of the rubrics or other passages are in red. Two of these are represented at the foot of the Plate; the first, from fol. 7, immediately preceding the text of the Gospels; and the other, from fol. 108, which is the last in the volume. The latter contains a curious entry connected with the history of this manuscript,

* Called *twice* by the MM. Champollion the *New Testament*.—ED.

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and informs us, that it was executed at Tathros, a town of Moldavia, which will excite no surprise when it is recollected that from the middle of the fourteenth century, Louis I., King of Hungary, had annexed Moldavia to his other conquests, which gave to his territories a temporary extent equal to that of one of the great kingdoms of modern Europe. By the effect of this new political domination in Moldavia, the Hungarian language would probably acquire some additional influence; and we here find an Hungarian scribe at Tathros, engaged in copying the Gospels in his national idiom.

Such pious labors must have been in great repute at the period when this manuscript was written. The Pope, Callixtus III., had sent a religious Franciscan, Johannes Capistranus, to preach the crusade in Hungary against the Turks; and a number of Hungarian families had emigrated into Moldavia, where they were termed by the Moldavians Ungareny, and who would require copies of the Holy Scriptures in their own language. This manuscript is dated in the year 1466, and is the most ancient of the Hungarian manuscripts with a date; but we are compelled to admit, that neither in the writing nor ornaments is there the slightest approach to good taste. The rude arabesque surrounding the page is joined to the initial letter of the text, which is traced in red, tessellated in its interior, and surrounded by chain-work. In the border, colored red and green, we recognize no real forms of leaves or flowers; it is a wretched specimen of western taste, which rejected the more correct models of the Byzantine school. An exaggerated orthodoxy may, perhaps, have exercised some influence on the arts, since the Greek Christians in Hungary are in the proportion of one to five, compared with the Roman Catholic Christians, and the art of a Greek schismatic might probably have alarmed a Roman-Latin conscience.

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Manuscripts in the Hungarian language are very rare, but the present work contains fac-similes of the three which are best known*.

PLATE CCLXXIII.

SCANDINAVIAN WRITING.

IXTH CENTURY.

RUNIC FRAGMENTS, IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY OF MUNICH.

It has often been noticed, that the margins and pages originally left blank of ancient manuscripts have received a variety of notes completely foreign to the contents of the volume, and generally much more recent than the manuscript itself. Sometimes, however, it happens that the scribe of the volume appears to have been anxious to profit by these blank leaves, in order to show the extent or variety of his skill or knowledge, and instead of sentences or enigmas, he gives fine specimens of his penmanship, or has written various alphabets.

The Plate accompanying this article affords a specimen of this usage of the scribes of the middle ages, and represents the 58th page of a Latin manuscript in the Royal Library of Munich, obtained from that of the cathedral of Freisingen.

* No specimens of Bohemian writing are given by Silvestre, yet some interesting examples might have been supplied. A fine manuscript, written on vellum, and finished in the year 1435, containing a Bohemian translation of the whole Bible, is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna (Denis, ii. 54); in the *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria* of Westwood is given a fac-simile of a Bohemian New Testament in the Bodleian library, written in 1528; and the MS. Add., 16,175, British Museum, contains a Gradual in Bohemian, with the musical notes, written for Sixtus ab Ottendorff, Chancellor of Prague, in 1570.—Ed.

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The manuscript is a vellum folio (marked *Fris.* 91.) and contains the Latin version of the Commentary of St. John Chrysostom upon the Epistle to the Hebrews. The present page, however, appears to have no connexion with the writings of the illustrious Greek Father, but proceeds only from the fancy of the scribe. It is difficult, in fact, to find any sense in the first four lines, which present a tolerable example of the acute Caroline minuscule writing, approaching to the Lombardic, with the words not divided, and the abbreviations numerous, the *e* especially being worthy of notice. The mention in these lines of smiths beating on the anvil, the right to chase an enemy, the barking of dogs, the staff of the shepherd, and the rage of the wolf, appears only to be an incoherent assemblage of words and ideas, employed by the scribe as a trial of his pen or his hand. The remainder of the page is not in much better order, and the same scribe has represented, first, a Runic alphabet (line 6, continued on line 16), with the name of each letter written above it (lines 5 and 15); secondly, an alphabet of Greek capital letters (line 8, continued on lines 18 and 10); thirdly, an alphabet of uncial Greek letters (lines 12, 21, and 14), with their names above; fourthly, a third Greek alphabet, commenced on line 19 and terminating on line 11; forming a complete jumble of letters, alphabets, and numerical signs, of which we need here only notice the Runic characters*.

The Runic alphabet (a name of which the origin is not clearly ascertained,) was especially in use among the priesthood of Northern Europe and the Scandinavian tribes. It is certainly very ancient, and its invention is attributed to Odin, the most illustrious of the heroes of northern civilization, who is supposed to have lived before the Christian era; but more

* These Runes are noticed by W. C. Grimm, but not satisfactorily, in his work *Ueber deutsche Runen*, p. 111, and he states that the manuscript came from the monastery of Tegernsee, and not Freisingen.—Ed.

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sober critics, who attribute greater weight to the facts of history than to heroic traditions, refer the invention and use of this alphabet to the first ages of Christianity, a short time prior to that of Ulphilas, the Bishop of the Goths, who lived to the year 379. It is at least certain that Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, towards the end of the fifth century, alludes to the Runic letters in this line,—

Barbara fraxineis pingatur Runa tabellis;

and, in fact, Runic texts are known to exist carved on ashen tablets.

The opinions of the learned writers of the north, on the subject of this writing, appear to establish the three following propositions; that its origin must be referred to the Greek and Roman alphabets; that it was in use from the earliest period of direct or indirect communication between the people of Scandinavia and the Romans; and that it was employed by them previous to their conversion to Christianity. It appears that the Runic alphabet underwent certain modifications, and that the number of its signs was increased from 16 to 23 by Waldemar II., King of Denmark, at the commencement of the thirteenth century; that sovereign having added seven *dotted* letters. We recognise, in fact, in this alphabet, such a number of letters represented under the same form, but with different yet analogous powers; thus, the figure of B becomes that of P by the simple addition of a dot; the two articulations being in truth only a modification of each other, and both proceeding from the same organ.

The introduction of Christianity into the north by the efforts of Charlemagne and his successors, was very unfavorable to the employment of the Runes, which was altogether forbidden. This was not the first time, that, in order to impart a new religion to a nation, the use of the ancient alphabet was forbidden, and, as a necessary consequence, its ancient faith.

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At the foot of the Plate are added, from another manuscript, three lines of Runic writing, exhibiting a singularity, proceeding from the caprice of the scribe, not unlike the specimen above. These lines express a Latin text, and are to be read,—

Omnis labor finem habet, premium ejus non habet finem. Madalfrid scripsit istam partem, do [*Deo*] *gratias, quod ego perfeci opus meum.*

The interlineation in Latin letters serves to indicate the corresponding Runes, and will serve as an analysis of their characteristic forms. The writer's name is Madalfrid, but the writing does not appear very ancient.

PLATE CCLXXIV.

MŒSOGOTHIC WRITING OF ULPHILAS.

VITH CENTURY.

COMMENTARY ON THE GOSPELS, IN THE GOTHIC LANGUAGE.

THE term Mœsogothic is here employed designedly, in order to distinguish more clearly the kind of writing in the accompanying fac-simile.

The use of the term *Gothic* has given rise to great confusion in the works of the learned, having been applied, 1, to an antique altered kind of Roman writing, and its cursive minuscule; 2, to the writing of the manuscripts and charters of Italy, Spain, and the south of France; 3, to that of the most ancient inscriptions of the northern nations of Europe; 4, to the alphabet of which Ulphilas was the inventor; and, 5, to the angular and deformed writing used in France from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

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Learned palæographers have, however, endeavoured to clear up this confusion, by naming *ancient Gothic* or *Italo-Gothic* the writing which the Goths borrowed from the Romans, whilst masters of Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries; *cursive Roman*, the writing of the charters of Ravenna, and other documents on papyrus, of the sixth and seventh centuries, of which we have given specimens; *Visigothic*, the writing of the manuscripts and most ancient charters of Spain, derived evidently from the Roman, but altered according to the taste of the country, and called also Hispano-Gothic, Mozarabic, and Toletan; *Franco-Visigothic*, the writing of the manuscripts executed in the south of France, but of Roman origin, and which extend back at least to the eighth century; *Runic*, the writing on the monuments of the north of Europe; *Mœsogothic*, the writing of Ulphilas, differing from all the rest; and lastly, *Modern Gothic*, or Gothic in general, the writing of the last three centuries of the middle ages. The facsimile in the Plate is of the kind here termed *Mœsogothic*, the history of which may be thus stated.

Socrates, a Greek ecclesiastic of the fifth century, and several other Byzantine writers, inform us, that Ulphilas, belonging to a family of Cappadocia, having been carried away captive by the Goths, when they invaded that country in A.D. 266, was subsequently elevated to the episcopal dignity in his new country, which had been converted to Christianity; that he was sent as a legate to the Emperor Valens, at Constantinople, in the year 377, to ask for a province of the empire, as a refuge for the Goths from the Huns, by whom they had been conquered; that Ulphilas obtained permission for them to settle in Mœsia, on the right bank of the Danube; and that, in order to confirm them in the Christian faith, he translated the Old and New Testament into the Gothic language, and invented for that purpose an especial alphabet, which, from this circumstance, has been

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named the alphabet of Ulphilas, or the alphabet of the Goths of Mœsia.

Up to a very recent period only a portion of the work of Ulphilas was known to exist, preserved in two manuscripts, the *Codex Argenteus*, in the library of Upsal, and the *Codex Carolinus*, in that of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel; documents of the highest palæographical interest, since they were the only specimens discovered of one of the most ancient languages of Northern Europe.

The success which has attended the researches of Cardinal Mai, in the examination of some of the oldest manuscripts, and in the art of restoring the ancient text, buried, as it were, under more recent writing, has also been of great service to the ancient Mœsogothic literature, remains of which were scattered so widely, as to make their reunion almost appear miraculous.

The learned Cardinal, in the course of his researches among the manuscripts in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, discovered the Latin letters of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius, written over a text in the Gothic language, and in the characters of Ulphilas*; at Rome, another manuscript also was discovered by him, in which the same letters of these illustrious Romans had been similarly transcribed over a Gothic text; and, on bringing these fragments together, they were found to be portions of the same Mœsogothic manuscript, written by the same hand, and to contain a lost portion of the work of Ulphilas†.

* The class-mark of this manuscript is E. 147.—Ed.

† This is not correct. By the "work of Ulphilas," the inference would be that those fragments contained portions of the Gothic version of the Scriptures, whereas, in fact, the text consists of part of an Exposition on the Gospel of St. John, by an anonymous Gothic author, which has been published by H. F. Massmann, under the title of *Skeireins* etc., *Auslegung des Evang. Johannis in Gothiscer Sprache*, 4to., Münch., 1834, accompanied by a Latin version, notes, and a glossary. The fac-simile

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The present fac-simile represents one of the pages of the palimpsest leaves discovered at Rome, in the Vatican manuscript No. 5750.

On carefully examining this text, written in the language of the ancient Goths, it is impossible to doubt as to the origin of the alphabet composed by Ulphilas. He translated the Bible into the Gothic from the Greek, and it was also the Greek alphabet which he took as the type of that he gave to the Christian Goths. The greater number of its letters are, in fact, common to the Greek and Latin alphabets, a very few excepted, necessary for the expression of the sounds of the Gothic language, which were foreign to the Greeks. The following is the reading of the two lines at the bottom of the Plate:—

MITH HATIZA ANDHOFUN VITHRA
INS QUITHANDANS: IBAI GAH GUS*:

U has here the form of the minuscule *n;* the *th* is the ψ of the Greek alphabet; *r* is like *k*, *q* like *u*, and *j* like a deformed *g*. It would be easy to show the analogy of this alphabet of Ulphilas with the Slavonian, of which the Greek was also the original type. These fragments are referred to the sixth century, the period of the sojourn of the Goths in Italy.

in Silvestre's Plate will be found interpreted in Massmann, pp. 31. 51. The MM. Champollion add in a note, that it was from *these fragments* that Castiglione published the Gothic version of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, in 1829; but this is also an error, since this Epistle (as well as the specimens previously printed in 1819,) was taken from five other quite different manuscripts in the Ambrosian Library. The whole of the remains of Ulphilas were subsequently united together in the edition of Gabelentz and Loebe, 3 vols. 4to., Leips., 1836–1846.—ED.

* *With anger they answered against them, saying, Whether and ye.—Joh.* vii. 47.—ED.

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PLATES CCLXXV., CCLXXVI.

ICELANDIC WRITING.

XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES.

CODE OF ICELANDIC LAWS OF KING MAGNUS II.

THE manuscript, No. 8173, of the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, from which the first of these Plates has been copied, belongs to a nation of the north of Europe, but little known in the middle and southern portions of the same continent. Iceland is, nevertheless, neither without annals nor civilization. Colonists from Norway settled there in A.D. 861; soon afterwards Christianity imparted a fresh source of civilization, and it became a republic celebrated for its laws, princes, and poets during some portion of the middle ages.

With Christianity Iceland also received the Roman alphabet, and adopted it, with the modification of some of the letters, rendered necessary by the peculiar sounds of its own language, previous to which period it is supposed by some writers that the Runic alphabet was used. The Icelandic language itself belongs to the Scandinavian branch of the ancient Teutonic stock, and is termed Normanno-Gothic.

According to some authors, the literature of Iceland is one of the oldest of modern Europe; its poets, named *Scalds*, sang both of war and love, and the ninth century is referred to as the most flourishing period of their compositions; the highest honors were reserved for them, and their songs had the twofold merit of inspiring the veneration of the Deity, and the love of country, the Scalds being both poets and warriors.

Nearly an equal degree of antiquity is accorded to the

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Icelandic compositions in prose. Their code of laws, reputed to be eminently wise, and generally respected, served to govern both princes and people by the sole authority of tradition, till at length it was judged useful, that these laws should be committed to writing. A proposition to this effect was made in the year 1117; the code was written, and submitted to the approbation of the general assembly, which met in the following year. The first code is known under the name of *Grágas*, a term of which the origin and meaning are not decided, and this remained the code of laws of Iceland whilst free and independent.

When Iceland was given up to the King of Norway, it received a fresh code from Haco, in which none of the privileges were introduced reserved to it by the act of union. The Icelanders, therefore, rebelled against these severe laws so effectually, that Magnus VII., the son of Haco, conceded to them another code of laws, more humane than the former, and more conformable to the privileges of the united nation; in which, nevertheless, this king, known by the name of *Lagabæter*, or legislator, strove less to renew the ancient legislation of Iceland, than to confer on it the benefit of the Norwegian code. The treasurer Jon, or Jonas, had the greatest share in this innovation, and the code which he compiled was known under the title of *Jonsbok* (*Liber Jonæ*), published at Stockholm in 1578. This took place towards the end of the thirteenth century, since which time up to the present period, this code has been the common law of Iceland, and the manuscript before us contains a copy of it. It is a small square quarto volume, written on thick vellum, consisting of nineteen gatherings, most of which are quaternions, very regularly written, and the chapters and sections having the titles rubricated*. The vellum has entirely lost its original whiteness,

* Another copy of this work, and very similar in appearance, of the same age, is in MS. Add. 4873., Brit. Mus.—Ed.

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the appearance of the text is unpleasing, and the gatherings are sewed to three stout strips of leather, which are rudely attached by wooden pegs to two very thick pieces of deal, fashioned in the rudest manner; the whole forming a most primitive specimen of binding.

The following note is written upon the first fly-leaf,—"*Codex legum Islandicarum, quem bibliothecæ instructissimæ eminentiss. Dni. Cardinalis Massarini officiose dicatum cupit Olaus Wormius.*" We thus learn, that the volume was presented by Olaf Worm, a native of Jutland, and the distinguished author of a number of works on medicine and northern antiquities, (who died in 1654,) to Cardinal Mazarin, from whose library it passed into that of his master, the King of France.

The volume from which the second Plate is taken, has been but recently acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale, having been presented to it by M. Gaimard, the distinguished voyager, by whom it was obtained at Rey-Kjavik, in Iceland, on the 28th of August, 1835.

This manuscript is incomplete, and is written on paper, very regularly; the chapters commence with handsome Gothic capitals, highly ornamented, and there are several rubrics. It appears evidently less ancient than the vellum manuscript above described, which may be referred to the fifteenth century, whereas the paper volume, (which, according to information given to M. Gaimard, contains the laws relative to inheritance,) cannot be, at most, older than the sixteenth century*.

* This Plate is marked of the fifteenth century, by error of the engraver.—Ed.

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§ VIII. WRITINGS OF THE SLAVONIC NATIONS, DERIVED FROM THE GREEK.

PLATE CCLXXVII.

SLAVONIC WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

[THIS Plate is not described by the French editors. It is said to be copied from a manuscript in Cyrillian characters, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, No. 3537, containing some historical tracts and lives of saints. The date assigned to it on the Plate, of the *eleventh* century, seems, at least, two centuries too early.—ED.]

PLATE CCLXXVIII.

SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPT.

XIITH CENTURY.

PSALTER OF BOLOGNA, AND COMMENTARY OF ST. ATHANASIUS.

WE have given in another article on a manuscript of the Gospels, (Pl. CCLXXXIV.) some account of the origin of the Slavonic alphabet, and the period of its introduction, together with Christianity, among the peoples belonging to this great family. The specimen in the present Plate will not bear comparison with these Gospels, in respect to its graphic execution. It is copied from a manuscript belonging to the library of the monastery of St. Salvatore, at Bologna, and contains the Psal-

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ter, translated into the Slavonic language, written in Slavo-Cyrillian characters, and accompanied by an allegorical commentary in the same idiom which is supposed to have been translated from the Greek, and to have been composed by St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, in the fourth century. Cardinal Antonelli, who published for the first time at Rome, in 1746, the commentary of this Greek Father on the Psalms, has spoken at great length of the Slavonic version, and has given an incorrect fac-simile of the manuscript, which is unquestionably an important palæographical monument, as belonging to a class of graphic productions of great rarity, even in that part of Europe which constitutes their country.

This manuscript contains in a note the name of the scribe by whom it was written, the locality, and the precise date of its execution. This note occurs on the *verso* of fol. 126, col. 1; it is also in the Slavonic language, and the learned director of the Imperial Library of Vienna, M. B. Kopitar, has furnished a translation to the following effect:—"Remember, O Lord! thy servants Joseph, Tichota, and Beloslav, who have written this book with the aid of God, and the mother of God, Mary the Virgin. It was written in the village of Ravno, near the town of Achride, in the reign of Assan, King of the Bulgarians*."

Three kings of this distant country have borne the name of Assan, and this note leaves us in doubt which of these three princes was intended. The first, throwing off his allegiance to the Emperor of Constantinople, caused himself to be proclaimed King of Bulgaria in the year 1186; at which period the Bulgarians, a Tartar tribe from the environs of Kasan, had become mingled with the Slavonians of the Danube for more than six centuries, had partially adopted their language, and extended their conquests over adjacent countries. Christianity had also been received by the Bulgarians, in imitation

* See *Hesychii glossographi epiglossistes Russus*, edited by B. Kopitar, 8vo., Vind. 1839, p. 37.—Ed.

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of the Slavonians, whom they had conquered, and who were more numerous than their vanquishers. The Bulgarians adopted also at the same time the national writing, the Cyrillian alphabet, which was in general use. After the declaration of the schism, this alphabet had become that of the liturgy and of religion, as it remains to this day in Russia, where it is reserved for the same use; and if the Bulgarians employed a somewhat different alphabet for ordinary purposes, they retained the Cyrillian alphabet for their religious texts. These circumstances do not enable us to decide which of the three Bulgarian kings named Assan is alluded to by the writer of the manuscript before us. The first reigned from 1185 to 1195; the second, from 1215 to 1242; and the third before 1271. M. Kopitar assigns this Psalter to the time of Assan I., at the end of the twelfth century, and the opinion of so learned a writer on this subject must be intitled to respect*.

M. Kopitar has observed, that on the *verso* of fol. 157 of this manuscript, four lines occur, in which the scribe, forgetting that he had been writing in the characters of St. Cyril, has employed the Glagolitic characters of St. Jerome.

PLATE CCLXXIX.

SLAVONIC WRITING.

XIIᵀᴴ OR XIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

[THIS Plate is unaccompanied by any text in the French edition. It is stated to be copied from a vellum manuscript in the Imperial Library at Vienna, containing the New Tes-

* The fac-simile in the Plate is taken from Psalm lxxxviii., ver. 1–6. —ED.

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tament, written in the Cyrillian characters. It appears to be the same manuscript which is entered in Griesbach's list as No. 1, and described by Dobrowsky, *Instit. Ling. Slav.*, pp. xxvii, 679, which contains, not the New Testament, but ecclesiastical hymns and lessons from the Gospels and Epistles, with the addition of a *Synaxarium*, written in red on the margins. A separate dissertation on this volume was published at Buda, in 1804, by a former possessor, Aloysius Hanke ab Hankenstein, who erroneously ascribed it to the eighth century.—Ed.]

PLATE CCLXXX.

SLAVONIC WRITING.

XIIITH CENTURY.

EVANGELISTARIUM IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY.

This volume is written on vellum, in double columns, in the Slavonic language, and in Cyrillian characters. In other articles have been stated the circumstances relative to the introduction of the use of writing among the Slavonians, and the cause of the invention of their different alphabets, occasioned by a difference in certain religious dogmas.

In general, the Cyrillian alphabet, as employed in the present fac-simile, is that used by the Slavi of the Greek communion; and which, with certain modifications, has become the ordinary Russian alphabet. The Hieronymian or Glagolitic writing, is that used by the Latin Slavonians, but not without some exceptions.

The manuscript before us belongs to the Vatican Library, (No. 4,) and contains the Gospel lessons for all the feasts in

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the year, according to the liturgy of the Greek Church, commencing with Easter Sunday, and ending with Saturday in the Holy Week, in the same order as in the Menologies, both manuscript and printed. The calendar at the end of the volume commences, on the contrary, with the 1st of September, in accordance with the usage of the Greek civil year; the years being reckoned according to the era of Constantinople, from the commencement of the world, or rather from the period so considered, which is carried back 5508 years before the Christian era. The Slavonians adopted this era together with the calendar, the alphabet, and the faith of the Greek Church, and its use was not abolished in Russia until the reign of Peter the Great.

Two opinions have been expressed in regard to the age of this manuscript. The learned orientalist Assemani considered it of the eleventh century, since the calendar contains the names of none of the saints who lived after that period; whilst Professor Bobrowski of Wilna has regarded it of the thirteenth century, because it contains readings which are not found in manuscripts really ancient; and this argument appears to possess sufficient philological weight to warrant its adoption*.

The character of the manuscript also supports this opinion, the writing being ordinary, although regular, firm, and well arranged; and it exhibits a certain degree of perfection, such as was peculiar to the period when the advancement of the political state of the Slavo-Greek nation had more generally extended the taste for reading, and multiplied the number of scribes, so as to exclude the excessive finish and rich ornamental details which were thought requisite when the monks

* See the list of Slavonic MSS. in the Vatican, drawn up by Bobrowski, and inserted in vol. v. of the "*Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, ab Angelo Maio," 4to., Rom. 1831, p. 106. The fac-simile in the Plate is taken from the 18th chapter of Matthew, vv. 10–15.—Ed.

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were the only copyists, and labored for the honor of their monasteries, or of the princes by whom they were protected. The present manuscript appears to belong to this class of mediocrity. The Greek Church flourished at the period to which it is assigned; the Palæologi reigned at Constantinople; ecclesiastical matters occupied a prominent place in public affairs; constant attempts were made to unite the two communities of Christians; and the Emperor signed the Act of Union in April, 1277, and sent his submission to Pope Martin IV., who, however, doubted his sincerity. All these circumstances would lead to the multiplication of manuscripts, which, like the Evangelistarium of the Vatican, are distinguished by a careful execution, rather than by the luxury of ornament. We, therefore, adopt the opinion of Professor Bobrowski, in referring this manuscript to the thirteenth century.

PLATES CCLXXXI., CCLXXXII.

CYRILLIAN AND GLAGOLITIC WRITINGS.

XIVTH CENTURY.

SLAVONIC EVANGELISTARIUM OF THE COMMUNAL LIBRARY OF RHEIMS, COMMONLY CALLED THE "*TEXTE DU SACRE.*"

THE manuscript which has furnished the fac-similes in these two Plates has excited the curiosity of the public and the attention of the learned for more than a century, and its authentic history reaches beyond this nearly a century and a half. If we give credit to several grave authorities, the first part of this volume was written in the eleventh century, and the latter part at the end of the fourteenth. Moreover, a national interest attaches to the manuscript, since it is

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the book upon which the French kings are said to have taken the oath, by *touching the Holy Gospels*, on the day of their solemn anointing in the cathedral of Rheims, whence the volume has been called the *Texte du Sacre*, or Coronation Oath-book.

In order to give the fullest information as to these interesting circumstances, we shall devote a few pages to such particulars as are necessary to give a complete idea of the nature, contents, and history of this manuscript.

The same subject has recently occupied the pens of two well-informed bibliographers (whom we shall take for our guides); one, M. Louis Paris, librarian at Rheims; the other, M. J. L. Corvinus Jastrzebski, who was the first to determine the real character and contents* of the text.

The manuscript in question is a small quarto volume, written upon vellum, containing 47 leaves, in double columns, bound in oak boards covered with red leather, and anciently ornamented with plates of silver gilt, gems, and crystals, beneath which were inserted various holy relics; but all these ornaments disappeared at the close of the last century.

The volume is divided into two parts, which are written in two very different hands; the first consisting only of sixteen leaves, and the second of thirty-one. Both portions are in the same language, but the writings differ characteristically from each other, and both long remained unknown; thereby giving a certain degree of fame to the manuscript, which was severally regarded as Greek, Syriac, Oriental, or Indian, brought from the treasury of Constantinople, and formerly in the library of St. Jerome! But in the year 1717, on the manuscript being shewn, together with the other valuable relics

* *Notice sur le Texte du Sacre*, drawn up in the form of a *Rapport*, and inserted in the *Journal du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique*, for September, 1839, and also printed separately, 8vo., pp. 11, with two fac-similes.

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in the cathedral, to the Czar Peter I. and his suite, the first part of the volume was at once recognized as the fragments of an *Evangelistarium in the Slavonic language and characters*, such as were used in the liturgy of Russia; they were unable, however, to determine the character of the second part of the manuscript. The volume was from that time acknowledged to be a Slavonic book. Piganiol de la Force mentioned it, in 1718, in his "*Description historique de la France.*" A Muscovite envoy passing through Rheims, confirmed the judgment pronounced by his fellow countrymen; and the Abbé Pluche, a native of Rheims, noticed it in his "*Spectacle de la Nature,*" in 1732, and was the first to state, that "this ancient collection of the Epistles and Gospels in Slavonic letters was the book upon which the French kings used formerly to lay their hand, on their coronation;" adding, that in his time, they used a copy of the Gospels in the ordinary characters. In 1782, a jurist of Rheims adopted this tradition of Pluche; the learned German geographer, Busching, repeated it in a work which has been translated into various languages; and up to the present time this supposition has been received as an undoubted historical fact. It is on this account that the attention of the literati in France has been so especially directed to the manuscript of Rheims.

Such was also the effect produced by a volume intitled "*Mélanges de Philologie et de Critique,*" published in 1799 at Vienna, by Professor Charles Alter; a work devoted chiefly to subjects connected with the language and literature of the Slaves. Recalling to mind the capture of Constantinople by the Venetians in 1240, and the great number of objects of art which they carried away, M. Alter mentions, among the booty taken from the churches, copies of the Gospels of great value and fine execution, and conjectures, that the Rheims manuscript had this origin; considering it also as the Coronation Book of the French kings, and not doubting that

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it was written in the Slavonic language, but regretting that no French writer had published a description of so rare a volume.

The illustrious orientalist Silvestre de Sacy anxious to reply to the appeal thus made, sought for this manuscript of Rheims, but was informed that it had disappeared during the troubles of the revolution*. He added, from information given to him by the Benedictine D. Engrand, librarian at Rheims, that the volume was written in double columns and in two languages, Greek and Slavonic, and beautifully executed. Statements proceeding from such a source would of course be received with confidence by scholars in all parts of Europe.

The Canon Joseph Dobrowsky, who published at Vienna, in 1822, a work on the elements of the Slavonic language, expressed his deep regret that the Rheims manuscript had been burnt during the French civil discords. At the same time he suggested, contrary to the opinion of M. Alter, that the volume had been presented to Rheims, by Helena, Queen of Servia, about the year 1250†.

Some years afterwards, in 1836, Bartholomæus Kopitar, the keeper of the Imperial library at Vienna, published his work intitled *Glagolita Clozianus*, containing the description and text of a Slavonic manuscript in Glagolitic characters, in the library of M. le Comte Paris Cloz of Trent, preceded by prolegomena, in which the learned critic gave a summary of the history of Slavonic literature. The Rheims manuscript (regarded as one of its most valuable monuments) was not forgotten, but is spoken of as the *Texte du Sacre*, containing the four Gospels in the Slavonic language, and written in its two alphabets, the Cyrillian and Glagolitic, which had unfor-

* *Magasin Encyclopédique* of Millin, 5e année, 1799, tom. vi., pp. 457–459.

† *Institutiones linguæ Slavicæ dialecti veteris.* Vindob., 1822, 8vo.

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tunately been consumed by the infuriated populace in 1792; and an ardent wish is added, that some bibliographer in France would investigate the history of the manuscript*.

In answer to this renewed appeal of M. Kopitar, as well as to inquiries made by the chaplain of the Emperor of Russia, a diligent search was instituted, and the volume itself was fortunately discovered by M. Louis Paris, librarian and archivist of the city of Rheims, who published a notice, stating its recovery, and that it was under his care†.

We are now, therefore, enabled to state with certainty the age, subject, and palæographic or literary importance of this volume, and to inquire, with better hope of success, how it came into the treasury of the cathedral of Rheims. M. Jastrzebski furnishes us with information sufficient to satisfy all reasonable curiosity on these points.

The first part of the volume, consisting of sixteen leaves, is written in Cyrillian characters, the origin and nature of which, as well as the origin and affinity of the Slavonic language, are treated of by us elsewhere, and we have nothing more here to add, except a reference to the valuable "*Histoire de la langue et de la littérature des Slaves*‡," published by F. G. Eichhoff, in which the philosophical and comparative study of its ancient idioms is reviewed.

This first part of the Rheims manuscript contains the Lessons of the New Testament for the days of the month, from the end of October to the 1st of March, according to the ritual of the Greek Church. It is from this part that the first specimen (Pl. CCLXXXI.) is copied.

The second part, containing thirty-one leaves, is also written in the Slavonic language, but in the Glagolitic characters of St. Jerome. The second fac-simile (Pl. CCLXXXII.)

* *Glagolita Clozianus*, etc., 1836, fol., præf., p. x.

† *Chronique de Champagne*, 1837, tom. i., pp. 41, *et seq.*

‡ Paris, Cherbulier et Cie, 1839, pp. 360, 8vo.

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is taken from this portion, which contains the Gospel lessons for the chief festivals of the year, commencing with Palm Sunday.

Respecting the date of this manuscript, we find some valuable information in an entry in red letters at the end of the second part, (see the Plate,) which is thus translated by M. Jastrzebski:—

"*In the year of our Lord* 1395, *these Gospels and Epistles* [*i. e.*, the Glagolitic portion] *are written in the Slavonic language, and are to be chanted throughout the year, whilst the Abbot officiates in his mitre. As to the other portion,* [the first, in Cyrillian characters,] *it is according to the Ruthenic* [Græco-Catholic] *ritual, and is written by the hand of St. Procopius himself; and this Ruthenic text was offered by Charles IV., late Emperor of the Romans, to the Slavonians of this monastery, in honor of St. Jerome and St. Procopius.*"

These precise statements leave but little to be desired, although an impartial critic will doubtless perceive that they are not all of the same weight, and do not equally authenticate the facts which they state.

According to the writer of the note, the first part of the manuscript, written in Cyrillian characters, was presented by Charles IV., King of the Romans, to the Slavonic monastery of St. Jerome and St. Procopius. Now, a Bohemian historian informs us, that this sovereign complained to Pope Clement VI. that the Slavonian Benedictine monks, who had survived the dispersion of their order in Bohemia in A.D. 999, led a wandering life in those regions, and requested at the same time the papal sanction for the establishment of a new monastery, in which they might be reunited. This request was favorably received by the Pope, on the condition that the King should erect only one monastery throughout the kingdom of Bohemia; and the diplomas, which are still in existence,

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testify that the Emperor fulfilled this pious undertaking, and founded, as well as endowed, in the years 1347 and 1349, a monastery of Slavonic Benedictine monks, which he dedicated to St. Jerome. These historical testimonies, therefore, agree with, and confirm the assertion in the above note, as to the gift which Charles IV. might have made of this manuscript to the monastery of St. Jerome. The scribe, moreover, alludes in 1395 to facts which were not at that time more than half a century old.

It is not the same, however, with respect to another assertion in the note, which is of high palæographical interest, since if it be fully credited, we should here possess, not only the *oldest known* Slavonic manuscript written in Cyrillian characters, but the autograph of Procopius himself; a saint illustrious in the calendar of the Slavonic Church, and who, about the year 1030, was the first abbot of the monastery of Sazawa, in Bohemia, founded by Boleslas II. It will be seen, that this statement, in 1395, of an important fact which had occurred three centuries and a half previously (since Procopius died in the year 1055), rests only on the authority of the scribe; we have not, therefore, sufficient evidence of the fact, and as the value of the manuscript must be regarded in proportion to the antiquity conferred on it by this note, and the respect which it would claim as the autograph of a saint, it appears to us that the ordinary rules of criticism will permit us to doubt both its antiquity and sanctity. We do not think, however, with some, that it is so late as the fifteenth century, but willingly adopt the opinion of the learned M. Kopitar, who on being informed of the discovery of the Rheims manuscript, and shewn a fac-simile of it, inserted the following note in a copy of his *Glagolita Clozianus*, p. x., belonging to M. Silvestre: "The Text of Rheims has been discovered at Rheims itself, but stripped of its external ornaments. It is composed of two manuscripts bound together, consisting

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of different texts, not older than the fourteenth century." It appears to us difficult to controvert this judgment, which is partially confirmed by the facts above mentioned*.

It remains for us to examine the circumstances which led to this manuscript being deposited in the treasury of the cathedral of Rheims. In the public library of that city exists a document, intitled an inventory of the reliquaries, shrines, images, jewels, chalices, crosses, and vessels of gold and silver, belonging to the church and building of Notre-Dame of Rheims, made and renewed in 1669 from the ancient inventories; in which is an entry to the following effect,—"*Item*, a book in which are written the Gospels in the Greek and Syriac languages, or, according to others, in Slavonic, the gift of Monseigneur the Cardinal de Lorraine, on Easter Eve, 1574; covered with silver-gilt on one side, with numerous gems, and five crystals, beneath which are several relics, namely, a cross of wood formed of the true Cross, with relics of St. Peter and St. Philip the Apostles, the Pope St. Silvester, St. Cyril, St. Martha, St. Margaret, and the sponge and girdle of our Lord; ornamented at the four corners with figures of silver enamelled, the eagle, man, lion, and ox, being the symbols of the four Evangelists; the said book was brought from the treasury of Constantinople, and was said to have

* A fac-simile of the whole of this volume, page by page, has since been published by M. Silvestre, under the title of *Evangelia Slavice, quibus olim in Regum Francorum oleo sacro inungentorum solemnibus uti solebat ecclesia Remensis, vulgo, Texte du Sacre*, etc., 4to., 1843, accompanied by a Latin translation of the text, and historical *Prolegomena*, furnished by M. Kopitar. The opinion expressed above of the age of the *first portion*, in *Cyrillian* characters, is there repeated; but it seems hardly possible, on comparison with the other specimens furnished by M. Silvestre, that it can be so late by two centuries. The fac-simile in the present Plate forms page 3 of the edition, and is taken from Mark, ch. iv., vv. 24–34, read on the 4th of December, in commemoration of St. Barbara. The second, or *Glagolitic* portion, is certainly of the *fourteenth* century, and the specimen given contains the epistle and lesson for Palm Sunday, Ep. Philipp., c. ii., vv. 5–11; Matth. c. xxi., v. 1.—Ed.

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belonged to St. Jerome, and weighs six marcs and six ounces."

It is thus certain, that the manuscript was given to the treasury of the cathedral of Rheims, in the month of April, 1574, by Charles de Guise, the celebrated Cardinal de Lorraine, who also endowed the city with an university, of which he was the Archbishop. Did this prelate obtain the manuscript as a donation at the Council of Trent, or from a Greek named Michael Palæocappas, or did it come from the treasury of Constantinople? All these conjectures have been suggested in turn, but without any satisfactory solution.

As to Michael Palæocappas, the supposition appears to be destitute of all probability, and is founded entirely on an entry in the inventory above cited, as follows,—"*Item*, a tablet in two parts, very ancient, the personages of which are made of the true Cross, and of the manger of our Lord: on one side is represented our Lord and the pilgrims at Emmaus, and on the other, the Virgin holding the infant Jesus: the said tablet is in a case of silver-gilt, and was presented by Monseigneur Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine, on Easter Eve, 1554. It was brought from the treasury of Constantinople, according to a Greek inscription engraven on a silver plate, and thus translated into Latin,—"*Michael Palæocappas regiam hanc sanctam iconem post expugnationem Constannopolis, sub Martha monachus et ancilla regina assumens nudam, ob metum Turcarum, sic pro sua facultate concinnavit*, 1469." The argument is, therefore, that a very ancient tablet was given to the church of Rheims by the Cardinal de Lorraine, on Easter Eve, 1574, and a Slavonic manuscript was also given by the same Cardinal on the same day; that the Cardinal received the tablet from Michael Palæocappas, who had sent it to him as a present, with some other equally precious objects: the manuscript, therefore, also came from Constantinople, where it had been rescued from the Turks by the zeal of Palæocappas, who

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presented it to the Cardinal. In this argument, however, a chronological difficulty has been entirely overlooked, for the Greek inscription of the diptych, dated in 1469, states, that this relic was saved by Palæocappas in 1453 which is the date of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks; and it was not until 72 years afterwards that the Cardinal de Lorraine was born, and 121 years later that he presented the diptych to the church of Rheims! The barbarous Latin translation of this inscription only states one fact, namely, that this relic having been saved in a naked state (*nudam*), that is, without any ornament, was subsequently adorned and richly mounted by this Palæocappas, to the best of his ability, and that this was done in 1469. The inventory, in fact, mentions that the diptych was preserved in a case of silver-gilt, attached to a silver chain, and that the inscription was also engraved upon a plate of the same material. This, therefore, was the work of Palæocappas, completed in 1469; but the diptych must have passed through many hands before it came to the Cardinal de Lorraine, for this prelate could neither have seen nor known the Greek monk, with whom he has been brought into such close connexion. Thus, one of the suppositions, as to the origin of the manuscript, is wholly refuted.

It is true, that there is preserved in the library of Rheims a Greek manuscript containing the commentary of Theodoret on the book of Leviticus; and it is asserted, that this book, which is ornamented with miniatures, is the work of the same Palæocappas, who presented it to the Cardinal, as appears from a *Latin* dedicatory epistle, addressed to the illustrious prelate by the learned Byzantine. The same objection applies, however, to this Greek manuscript as to the diptych and the *Texte du Sacre*, since the Cardinal de Lorraine and the Greek Palæocappas could scarcely have been living at the same period; and we have but little hesitation in affirming, that the Greek manuscript of Rheims must have been executed by

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Constantine Palæocappas, who is known by other Greek manuscripts, one of which, dedicated to Henry II. of France, is preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris; whereas the restorer of the diptych was named *Michael* Palæocappas. Thus, there is nothing in common between Michael and Constantine Palæocappas, except, perhaps, a relationship at the distance of a century; no connexion between Michael and the Cardinal de Lorraine, and no connexion between Michael and the *Texte du Sacre**.

Lastly, Is this Slavonic manuscript intitled to this latter denomination? A scrupulous examination of the traditions to this effect will not allow us to reply in the affirmative. The Abbé Pluche appears to have been the first author of this assertion, but without any proofs; but an inventory of the valuables of the cathedral, drawn up in 1790, mentions also the manuscript as "*servant pour le sacre.*" This inventory was drawn up in the presence of several of the canons, whose signatures may be taken in testimony of their acceptation of this term, and consequently of the supposed use of the volume in the ceremony of the coronation. But M. Paris, in respect to this question, draws a fair distinction, and conjectures that the Slavonic manuscript, enriched with its precious relics, might probably have been one of those which the King religiously kissed during the ceremony in question, (on which account the canons of Rheims might justly affirm that this precious volume was *used in the service of the coronation*,) but that the oath of the monarch might have been taken upon an ancient Latin Evangelistarium; and, in fact, another vellum manuscript, adorned with miniatures, but despoiled of its ancient and precious cover, still exists in the Communal Li-

* In spite of this diffuse reasoning, it may appear to some highly probable that *Constantine Palæocappas* presented the Cardinal de Lorraine with all three of the objects in question—the Greek manuscript, the Slavonic volume, and the diptych.—ED.

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brary of Rheims, and is affirmed also to be the manuscript upon which the Kings of France took the oath. This solemn act, therefore, was not taken upon the Slavonic manuscript.

The history of this Slavonic manuscript (improperly, as it now seems, termed the *Texte du Sacre**), deprived of all its marvellous circumstances, is thus at length cleared up and authenticated. There are but few instances of manuscripts which possess so much interest with reference to the history of literature in general, or the national history of France in particular, as the one in question.

The copy of the Gospels, upon which the French monarchs really took the oath at their coronation, has already been described in the present work, and presents a fine and valuable example of Roman writing†.

* This title, as M. Paris remarks, might also, on similar grounds, be given to the volume which was first printed under the title of *Consecratio et Coronatio regis Franciæ,* par Guillaume Eustace, libraire et relieur de livres, à Paris, MDX.

† See Pl. CCIII. The manuscript referred to is a *Lectionarium* of the sixteenth century, and therefore has but little claim to the honor bestowed on it in the text. A volume of much greater interest is preserved in the Cottonian collection, British Museum, Tib. B. VIII., containing the Coronation Service of the Kings and Queens of France, illustrated with many beautiful miniatures, and bearing at fol. 72^{b} the following note in attestation of its authenticity, in the *autograph* of Charles V.,—"*Ce livre du Sacre dez Rois de France est à nous, Charles le V. de Notre nom, Roy de France, et le fimes coriger, ordener, escrire, et istorier, l'an M.CCC.LXV.* (signed) CHARLES."—ED.

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PLATE CCLXXXIII.

SLAVONIC WRITING.

XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES.

[No description is given of this Plate by the MM. Champollion. It contains two fac-similes in Cyrillian characters; the first, taken from a Missal of the Russian Church, preserved in the Vatican (No. 14?), of the fifteenth (?) century; the second, copied from an Antiphonarium of the same Church, accompanied by tones for chanting, of the sixteenth century, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.—ED.]

PLATE CCLXXXIV.

SLAVONIC WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

THE GOSPELS IN THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY OF VIENNA.

THE volume which has furnished the present Plate belongs to a literature of which but little is known in the south of Europe, although it is that of a family of peoples and languages unequalled alike for their number and influence. The Slavonian race, in fact, extends over a territory equal to the sixth part of the habitable surface of the globe; their historical antiquities carry us back to the Sarmates, the implacable enemies of the Scythians and Romans, and their

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fame in modern times is united with that of the Russian empire.

The primitive language of the Slavi is the parent of a great number of dialects spoken by tribes of the same origin, and is divided into three chief branches, the Russo-Illyrian, the Bohemo-Polonese, and the Germano-Slavonic; and each of these is subdivided into a considerable number of other dialects, essentially distinct from each other, but preserving the family character common to them all.

The alphabets used in writing these dialects are equally various, and more or less removed from the primitive type, the Slavonic alphabet, properly so called, which is the one used in the present fac-simile. This alphabet itself is not older than the ninth century of the Christian era, at which period Christianity was introduced among the Slaves by two Greeks, who, being desirous to write copies of the Scriptures in the language of their new converts, invented an alphabet based upon the Greek alphabet of the period. This Slavonic alphabet, therefore, was composed of the twenty-four Greek letters, and of a somewhat smaller number of others, necessary to express the sounds peculiar to the Slavonic language; and this alphabet has been termed the alphabet of St. Cyril, Cyrillian, or *Chiurilizza*, from the name of the person by whom it was invented.

The oldest known monument written in these characters, is an inscription dug up on the ruins of the ancient church at Kief, and still preserved in the new church there, which is ascribed to the year 996. At St. Petersburg and in the Greek monasteries of Mount Athos, liturgical manuscripts in the same writing are preserved, dated as early as the year 1056*. Lastly, this alphabet was employed as the system of national

* The manuscript alluded to is the copy of the Gospels written for Ostromir, prince of Novorogod, in 1056-7, which has been edited, with fac-similes, by Alex. Vostokov. 4to., Petersb. 1843.—Ed.

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writing in Russia until the reign of the Czar Peter the Great, who extended his reforms even to the graphic system adopted in his empire, and reformed the Slavonic alphabet by rejecting those letters which, although different in form, expressed the same sound, and by giving a greater degree of elegance to the remainder.

It is worthy of remark, that in the Slavonic alphabet, each sign has a *name*, and this *name* is also a *word* in the language, having its own signification, the first letter of which is the letter to which it gives a name. Thus, in the year 865, the Greek Cyril had pre-conceived the plan adopted in modern times for facilitating the teaching of reading, by recalling to mind the sound of a letter by means of some oral or figured sign. Some critics indeed (perhaps too acute) have even discovered various regular phrases in the collection of names of the Slavonic letters, reminding us of what was anciently done by the inhabitants of Cyprus, who, to confer honor on the Emperor Augustus, composed a complimentary sentence of twelve words, which they inserted in their calendar instead of the names of the twelve months.

Among the rarer monuments of the Slavonic language, written with the characters employed in the present manuscript, may be mentioned the code of Yaroslof, of the commencement of the eleventh century; the Testament of Vladimir Monomachus, who died in 1126; and the poem of Igor, and the celebrated Chronicle of Nestor, both of the twelfth century. All the works printed in Russia, up to the days of Peter the Great, were composed in this ancient alphabet, and its peculiar letters serve to fix the age of the manuscripts in which they are employed.

The volume which has furnished the subject of this Plate is a copy of the Gospels, preserved in the Imperial library of Vienna, (No. 356,) of the sixteenth century*.

* The specimen is taken from the commencement of the 1st chapter of St. Mark's Gospel.—Ed.

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The illumination of this page has a strongly-marked oriental character, especially indicated by the absence of any representation of the human figure. Similar ornaments often occur in manuscripts of the Byzantine school. The present volume was given in the year 1535, (in which it was probably written), to the Greek monastery of Xeropotamo, by Peter, son of Stephan, Wayvode of Moldavia*.

The Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, possesses about twenty-five manuscripts written in the Slavonic language and alphabet, the majority of which are ancient, but none are remarkable for their rich or elegant execution.

PLATE CCLXXXV.

SLAVONIC WRITING.

XVITH CENTURY.

[THE French Editors have given no description of this Plate, which is stated to have been furnished by a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, (No. 3,) in Cyrillian characters, containing the Four Gospels. The fac-simile is taken from the first chapter of St. Luke.—ED.]

* See Denis, *Codd. Theol.*, tom. ii., col. 129.—ED.

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PLATE CCLXXXVI.

SLAVONIC WRITING.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE XVIITH CENTURY.

[THIS Plate also is passed over unnoticed by the French Editors. It is said to be taken from the second part of a manuscript in the Imperial library of Vienna, containing the New Testament in Cyrillian characters. The fac-simile is from the beginning of the second Epistle of St. John. This manuscript appears to be the same that is referred to in the article on Pl. CCXCII.—ED.]

PLATE CCLXXXVII.

CIRCULAR GLAGOLITIC WRITING.

XITH CENTURY.

SLAVONIC EVANGELISTARIUM IN THE VATICAN LIBRARY.

IN the notice of the fine Slavonic *Missal* of the fourteenth century, (Plate CCLXXXVIII.,) and in that relative to the *Psalter* of Bologna, (Plate CCLXXVIII.,) a summary account has been given of the origin and languages of the Slavonian tribes, their conversion to Christianity, and the effect of that event on their literature. The alphabets employed by them, or still in use, were the result of their new faith, and two principal systems of writing were thence occasioned, by the division of the population (although unequally,) into two chief Christian

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communities, namely, of the Greek and of the Latin Church. Cyril invented the alphabet for the use of the former, which was, after him, called *Cyrillian;* whilst a Slavonian divine, named Jerome, gave another to the followers of the Latin creed, which has thence been termed the alphabet of St. Jerome; known also under the title *Glagolitic*, the origin and etymology of which term is uncertain.

From the researches of M. Kopitar, published in his *Glagolita Clozianus*, relative to all the branches of Glagolitic literature, three principal epochs are to be distinguished in the use of the Slavo-Glagolitic writing. The first of these, namely, the letters used in printing, were first used in 1483, when the *editio princeps* of the Slavonic Missal in Glagolitic characters was published at Venice; a work of the greatest rarity, of which a copy exists in the Imperial library of Vienna. The characters of this volume are of the most recent form.

Two other kinds of characters, analogous to each other, but differing in their greater or less degree of simplicity, exist in manuscripts, and these differences serve to fix their respective dates. The writing of modern manuscripts is the same as that of the Missal of the fourteenth century elsewhere described; the Bibliothèque Royale possesses a fine manuscript of this class, written on vellum. The writing of the most ancient manuscripts is that of which the present Plate exhibits a specimen, and which is distinguished from the two others by the rounded forms of its letters, whence it has been termed in France, *Glagolitique à lunettes.* The manuscript which has furnished this fac-simile, is a quarto volume on vellum, belonging to the Vatican library, (No. 3*,) which was bought from the Greek-Slavonians of Jerusalem by the learned J. S. Assemani, on his return from Mount Lebanon (in 1736). It contains the Gospel-lessons for the

* Marked No. 1, by mistake, on the Plate.—Ed.

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year, and for the saints' days, written in the ecclesiastical Slavonic language, and in the Bulgarian dialect, and is followed by a calendar of the saints, and instructions relative to the principal ceremonies of the Church.

The opinion of palæographers as to the age of this manuscript varies considerably. By some it is regarded as of the eleventh century, which date has been adopted at the head of the Plate. M. Michel Bobrowski, Canon of Wilna, refers it, however, to the thirteenth century, chiefly because its text approaches closely to the ancient printed edition of the fifteenth century; a circumstance which appeared to him of weight, although certain of the later festivals established in the Slavonian Church are not inserted in the *Menologium* which forms part of the manuscript*: moreover, certain orthographical signs occur, which give a greater rudeness to the pronunciation. We shall only add one remark, which may be of essential use in a palæographical point of view, namely, that this manuscript does not confirm, as a positive fact, that the Glagolitic-Hieronymian alphabet, either simple or rounded, was exclusively used by the Latin Slavonians, since the text, although written in the latter characters, is arranged according to the order of the Greek liturgy; a remarkable circumstance, from which M. Kopitar (who considers the manuscript of the eleventh century,) has been led to conclude, that the circular Glagolitic alphabet, in the earlier days of the Slavonic Church, was used indifferently by both communions of Christians†. Under any circumstances, the volume before us is one of the most ancient and precious of this class of palæographical documents. Some lines of Glagolitic writing *à lunettes* occur in a Latin manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale at

* *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, tom. v., p. 105. Dobrowsky also assigns this manuscript to the thirteenth century, (*Instit. ling. Slav.*, p. 688,) but he is refuted by Kopitar.—Ed.

† See the *Prolegomena* to the *Texte du Sacre*, p. xii., and *Hesych. Glossogr.*, p. 39.—Ed.

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Paris, (No. 2340,) and it is from this fragment that the Benedictines derived their alphabet of this kind, which they term *Bulgarian*. (*Nouv. Traité de Diplomat.*, tom. i., p. 708, Pl. XIII.)

PLATE CCLXXXVIII.

SQUARE GLAGOLITIC WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

MISSAL OF THE LATIN SLAVONIAN CHURCH.

We have already observed, that the rites of the Latin Church were adopted by a much smaller portion of the Slavonian Christians than those of the Greek Church.

Following in the steps of the Bulgarians, the Croats were converted to Christianity by the influence of the preaching and zeal of the missionaries sent by Charles le Chauve to them, in the year 866, and by the absolute protection granted to them by the Emperor of the East, and Pope Nicholas I. Their first apostles were Constantine and Methodius. The monk Methodius, having been ordered by Bogaris, King of the Bulgarians, to exercise his talent as an artist in decorating his palace, painted a representation of the last judgment, which so profoundly affected the mind of the monarch, that he caused himself to be baptized. The two apostles continued their mission with great success, and on their return to Rome were consecrated bishops. The Bulgarians, however, were induced by the Emperor Basil to unite themselves with the Greek Church, but other tribes remained firm to the Latin ritual; and it is to this separation that the invention of the new Slavonic alphabet is attributed, of

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which the present Plate exhibits a fine specimen. It thence followed, that the new alphabet became that of the Latin Slavonians, whilst the Cyrillian alphabet was employed by those of the Greek Church.

It has been stated, that a doctor of theology named Jerome, a Dalmatian by birth, was the inventor of this alphabet, which he used to write a translation of the Holy Scriptures or liturgical books in the Slavonic language; and having composed it in imitation of the Hebrew or Greek letters*, he thereby brought it into repute among his contemporaries. This alphabet has also been attributed to St. Jerome, but without any sufficient reason; and it is to be supposed, that geographical position has as much contributed to the use of two differerent alphabets to write the same language, as the desire so common in the history of religious sects, to possess the exclusive use of an orthodox alphabet, essentially differing from that of other sects.

The alphabet used in the accompanying fac-simile is also termed *Glagolitic*, *Esclavonian*, and *Boukonitza;* the singularity of the ornaments with which the letters are overcharged, renders its use difficult, and the most attentive examination will not discover any system in its types, or any analogy of formation in the different signs; some Greek letters are more or less evidently disfigured in it, and the remainder are entirely arbitrary, and overloaded with superfluous strokes, which are endurable only in comparison with the letters of the Glagolitic writing *à lunettes*, of which a specimen has been previously given.

The history of the Glagolitic writing shows its use to have been contemporary with that of the Cyrillian alphabet, according to the opinion of M. Kopitar, whose learned re-

* Guill. Postel, *Linguarum duodecim, characteribus differentium, Alphabetum.* Par. 1538, 4to.

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searches have furnished us with the account of the manuscript, from which the present Plate is copied.*

This manuscript is a Missal, written by the hand of Count Novak, a knight in the service of Louis the Great, King of Hungary. It is composed in the literal Slavonic idiom, but a note in the vulgar tongue informs us, (according to the translation of M. Kopitar,) that in the year 1368, Novak, son of Count Peter, wrote this volume for the salvation of his soul, to be given to the church; requesting the priests and deacons who officiated with it, not to forget the scribe in their prayers. His intentions, however, were not entirely carried into effect, for we learn from another note, that, in the year 1405, when Anthony was patriarch of Aquileia, this manuscript was purchased from Count Peter, son of Count Novak, for the sum of forty-five pieces of gold, paid out of the treasury of the church of St. Helena and St. Peter, of Nugla, in Istria, and in the diocese of Aquileia. Thus, a volume written in Croatia in 1368, was sold in Illyria in 1405, and is now preserved in the Imperial library of Vienna.

The most ancient monument of the Glagolitic writing is considered to be a Psalter of the thirteenth century† written on vellum, but the most curious is unquestionably the manuscript at Rheims, called *Texte du Sacre*, described in a preceding article.

* *Glagolita Clozianus*, p. xiii.

† This is altogether an error, as amply proved by Kopitar, and by the manuscripts still existing of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, written in the Glagolitic character. The French editors probably refer to the Psalter written by Nicolaus Arbensis in 1222, in Glagolitic.—Ed.

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PLATE CCLXXXIX.

SQUARE GLAGOLITIC WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

[THIS Plate is not accompanied by any description in the French edition. It is stated to have been copied from a liturgical manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.—ED.]

PLATE CCXC.

SLAVONIC WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

[NOT described by the French Editors, and out of place. It is taken from a manuscript of the Gospels belonging to M. Kopitar, written in Cyrillian characters, and the specimens are copied from the first chapter of St. Matthew, and the first chapter of St. Luke.—ED.]

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PLATE CCXCI.

SLAVONIC-BULGARIAN WRITING.

XIVTH CENTURY.

BYZANTINE-GREEK CHRONICLE TRANSLATED INTO THE BULGARIAN LANGUAGE.

THE text represented in the present Plate is copied from a manuscript containing a translation, in the Bulgarian language, of a chronicle in modern Greek, composed towards the middle of the twelfth century by Constantine Manasses, and dedicated to Irene, the sister of the Emperor Alexis Comnenus. This *Historical Abridgment* (Συνοψις χρονικη), as it is intitled, embraces a period from the commencement of the world, according to the Greek computation, down to the year 1080 of the Christian era; and is written in political verses. The imaginative genius of the chronicler was also exhibited in a romance composed by him on the loves of Aristander and Callisthea, the existing fragments of which have been published in 1819, by the illustrious philologist Boissonade. The Historical Abridgment has also appeared in the collection of the Byzantine writers, in the edition of the Louvre dated 1655; having been previously published at Basle and Leyden.

The wars of the Bulgarians against the Greek empire are described in this work of Manasses, and must, therefore, be highly interesting to the Bulgarians, united as they otherwise are with the Greeks in their religious belief.

Of Tartar origin, and seated on the banks of the Volga, the Bulgarians passed the Danube at the commencement of the sixth century; subjugated several Slavonic tribes towards

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the middle of the century following, and settling amongst them, not only felt the influence of their ideas and language, but became Christians together with them, and adopted the alphabet of St. Cyril, which is employed in the accompanying Plate.

The power of the Bulgarians continued to increase until the beginning of the eleventh century, when it was partially overturned by the Emperor Basil II.; and the Ottomans entirely destroyed it in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The Bulgarian language is closely allied to that of Servia, as it is also to the Slavonian and Russian; it belongs, therefore, to the Russo-Servian branch, or that of the eastern Slavonians, the mother-tongue of all the Slavonic idioms.

The dialect used in the present manuscript is the ancient Slavonic properly so called, that which was consecrated to the service of religion, and reserved by public piety for the liturgy. This ancient idiom, retained especially among the Slavonians of the Greek Church, has, nevertheless, been subjected to the unavoidable influence of locality, which has been distinctly recognised by the philologists of Germany; who, notwithstanding the uniformity of the signs of the alphabet, can distinguish at once, whether a manuscript has been copied by a Bulgarian, a Servian, or a Russian.

The manuscript before us is the work of a Bulgarian, and was written towards the middle of the fourteenth century, as proved by its being dedicated to John Alexander, King of Bulgaria, who was one of the partisans of the Emperor John Palæologus, and who died in the year 1350.

The volume merits attention on account of its careful execution; its rubrics and capitals being written in red letters. The characters of the writing, which correspond with those of the alphabet of St. Cyril, are massive and elegant, with long and pointed tails; rectangular top-strokes, not truncated;

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the words semi-divided, accentuated, and partially punctuated, with some abbreviations*.

A colored miniature occupies part of the page of the facsimile, in which is represented, near to a church of simple architecture, a personage of rank extended on a bed, who is assisted in rising by another person at his head; whilst a third, assisted by four attendants, offers to him a small portrait of a saint, recognizable by the nimbus round the head; and the name of *Theophilus*, written above the group, would lead us to infer that the subject alludes to the iconoclastic zeal manifested against the images of Jesus and the saints by the Emperor Theophilus, son of Michael II., who ascended the throne in 829, and died in 842†. History records his persecution of the catholics, and the Chronicle of Manasses, of which this manuscript is a Bulgarian version, expressly mentions the effects of the furious persecution of Theophilus.

This manuscript belongs to the Vatican Library, and is marked No. 2 in the catalogue.

* Compare the description of Assemani, in *Kalend. eccl. univ.*, tom. v., p. 203, who gives a detailed list of the whole of the miniatures; Bobrowski, p. 102; and Kopitar, *Hesych. Glossogr.*, p. 44.—Ed.

† The subject of the miniature is thus described by Assemani: "f. 156. *Theophilus* Imp. moriturus sacram Deiparæ imaginem a monacho oblatam colit, *Theodora* uxore adstante," but the text beneath relates to Michael III., son of Theophilus. See Constantini Manassis *Breviarium historicum*, etc., ed. Leunclavii, p. 101, fol., Par. 1655.—Ed.

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PLATE CCXCII.

MOLDAVIAN WRITING.

XVIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

MOLDAVIAN DOCUMENT IN THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY OF VIENNA.

MOLDAVIA and Wallachia are two principalities of eastern Europe, which form, as it were, a Christian oasis amidst the vast dependencies of the Ottoman empire. The Emperors of Constantinople were the masters of these countries up to the period when the Turks compelled them to submit to the authority of the crescent. Wallachia was governed by a King, and Moldavia by a Waivode, the first of whom was appointed in the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1475, the Waivode Stephen destroyed a large Turkish army, commanded by an officer of Mahommed II., but the two principalities were at length incorporated with European Turkey, retaining the practice of the Christian Greek faith, as well as the language and writing which they had received with it.

The influence of the Romans had long previously been exercised in these countries; Trajan founded many military establishments there, and the Latin language had penetrated into the local idiom; religion, however, introduced the Greek language, and the result of these circumstances has been the formation of a mixed idiom, which has been properly classed in the Thraco-Pelasgic or Græco-Latin family, termed *Roumuni*, *Daco-Latin*, or *Wallachian*, and spoken in Wallachia and Moldavia.

As to the alphabet, it differs but little from the Slavonic, in regard to its Greek origin; subsequently modified, in some respects, either by local taste, or by the necessity of adopting

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a writing more easily written than the Slavonic, and sufficiently expeditious to merit the term of cursive. The Russians, by the effect of the reformations brought about by Peter the Great, have preserved the ancient Slavonic alphabet in all its complications in their liturgical books, but have adopted one much more easy for ordinary civil purposes. The Wallachians also perceived the necessity of such a distinction, and the manuscript represented in the Plate offers an example of the fact.

It is a folio volume on vellum, and forms the second portion of the New Testament in the Slavonic language; at the end of which, upon a page originally left blank, is written the document of which a fac-simile is here given.

This instrument is of later date than the manuscript, but the practice is well known, which prevailed even in the territories of the Latin Church of writing copies of pious donations made to the Church, on the blank leaves or margins of manuscripts of the Bible or liturgical works, the general respect for which insured the preservation of such documents. With this view the deed before us has been entered at the end of a copy of the Slavonic New Testament, which probably belonged to the monastery founded by the persons who are named in the instrument.

The Moldavian text is enclosed in a border, neatly ornamented with knots, the upper part of which is arched in the middle, and the space thus formed occupied by a cross, with the letters $\overline{\text{IC}}$, $\overline{\text{XC}}$, $\overline{\text{N}}$, $\overline{\text{K}}$, (Ἰησοὺς Χριστὸς νικᾷ,) *Jesus Christ is conqueror*, the usual invocation of the Greek Church.

The deed itself informs us, that, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the holy uni-substantial and undivided Trinity, the Bishop Anastasius, metropolitan of Moldavia, and several members of the Stroich family, founders of the monastery of Dragomino, in which the church of the Descent of the Holy Ghost is situate, declare and make

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known, that, after their deaths, the superior of the monastery shall always be an inhabitant of Moldavia; that this house shall never be granted either to the Holy Mountain (the convent of Mount Athos,) nor to that at Jerusalem; neither should the monastery be placed under the authority of the patriarch or metropolitan, nor should the monks be replaced by religious persons strangers to Moldavia; nor should an *hegoumenos* (or superior) taken from another monastery be appointed to it. The triple malediction, *anathema* and *maranatha* are pronounced against him who should violate or destroy this document, executed, according to the date, in the time of the Wayvode John Constantine Mogila, son of the Wayvode John Jeremiah Mogila*, on the 16th of March, in the year of the world 7118, (A.D. 1610). The deed is terminated by the signature, *Anastasis Metropolita*, with a *paraphe*, or flourish.

This a fine specimen of the cursive or ordinary writing of the Moldavians in the seventeenth century. Its Greek origin, as well as its Slavonic adaptation and Russian modifications, are at once visible. The writing is large, square, and irregular, and executed by a hand free from the conventional rules of a scribe; but it is very legible, although overcharged with abbreviations and small interlined letters, irregularities not observable in printed texts, but generally admitted in writing.

* Constantine Mogila succeeded his father in 1601; was driven from his throne by his uncle Symeon, but restored previous to 1610, the date of this document. He died in 1612.

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PLATE CCXCIII.

RUSSIAN CURSIVE WRITING.

XVIIIᵀᴴ CENTURY.

PUBLIC DOCUMENT OF KAMTSCHATKA, WRITTEN ON THE BARK OF A BIRCH-TREE.

SERVIUS, a celebrated commentator upon Virgil, states, that the Latins gave the name of *liber* to the inner bark of a tree in contact with the wood; Isidore of Seville adds, that the ancients wrote upon this bark; and hence it is, that the Latin word *liber* (and the French *livre*) became applied to a collection of these leaves, and subsequently of other flexible materials, either written or printed. The *liber* of the lime-tree, the papyrus, and other plants, was certainly used for writing on; but it has long been a question amongst the learned, whether the ancients employed in the place of the *liber*, more or less prepared, the bark of certain trees, such as the cherry-tree for instance; whether, in fact, it can be truly said, that they used paper made of the bark of trees*. The question would, indeed, be more easy of solution, by inquiring whether the outer bark of a tree was ever used for writing on, instead of parchment or paper; for it has been found practicable to make paper with the bark of some trees, submitted to certain processes: our rag-paper is, in truth, only a preparation of the bark of hemp. The ancients used so many different substances to write on, that we cannot reject from the list the bark of those trees naturally fit for this purpose, and which required but little preparation, in order to present a smooth surface, with a certain degree of flexibility.

* See the *Nouv. Tr. de Diplom.*, tom. i., c. 6, p. 503.—ED.

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In Egypt pieces of pottery are found of the Roman period, which have been used instead of paper, parchment, or papyrus, and the bark of a tree must present, at least, equal advantages; but lapse of time has destroyed the latter, whilst it has had no effect upon the pot-sherds.

However the use of the bark of trees for receiving writing among the ancients may be disputed, it is certain that several modern nations have employed it, and the Plate before us represents a document of this kind; it is a public act, written about the middle of the last century, upon a piece of bark of the birch-tree, and preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris.

The northern nations of Europe employed this substance for writing on, as well as tablets of ash or birch-wood, as is sufficiently proved by specimens both in public and private collections; some of these exhibit lines impressed by a sharp style on the surface of the tablet.

The text before us is written with black ink on both sides of the upper half of the piece of bark; the characters are those of the modern writing of Russia, as is also the idiom, thus indicating the origin of this document. Its subject relates to the people inhabiting the peninsula of Kamtschatka, at the eastern extremity of Russia, the population of which comprehends, under the general denomination of Kamtschadales, the tribes, few in number, which constitute the ichthyophagous remains of a more ancient, more numerous, and more civilized community, of which there still exist some buildings and works of art. Russian civilization is alone manifest, and the port of Avatsha is its centre, but it extends to the villages of the interior, of which the act now published offers a curious proof.

It is written in cursive Russian characters, and contains an official report from the government office of Verkni-Kamtschatkoi to the chancellery of Bolcheresk, in Kamt-

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schatka, to announce that 150 *pouds* of sweet herbs had been sent to the bureau of Nijne-Kamtschatkoi, and that there remain only 58 *pouds* in the office of the first-named place; these places being miserable villages, notwithstanding their high-sounding names, the second obtaining a livelihood only from its port and its relays of dogs, used instead of horses or rein-deer. This document is dated in the year 1768, the agent of the Russian authority not being able to employ any other chronological characters.

The Bibliothèque Royale has recently acquired this document and another of the same kind from a distinguished officer of the French navy, M. Abel du Petit-Thouars, who procured them during his last voyage round the world in the frigate *Venus*.

The fac-simile represents the two pages of the document placed one below the other, (for the sake of uniformity,) although in the original they occupy both sides of the piece of bark. The sheet of bark appears to have been carefully polished, and then washed over with some colored liquid. It is quite flexible, and about as thick as stiff paper, but liable, doubtless, to be easily destroyed.

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PART V.

CONVENTIONAL WRITINGS OF THE NEW WORLD.

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PLATES CCXCIV., CCXCV.

MEXICAN PICTURE-WRITINGS.

XVTH AND XVITH CENTURIES.

MYTHOLOGICAL AND ASTROLOGICAL SUBJECTS, AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

THE accompanying specimens of Mexican picture-writing are examples of the incomplete graphic system primitively adopted by all those nations who have invented writing for themselves, with which, however, few of these people have been satisfied; either in consequence of their own genius having led them to follow up and perfect their first invention, or from having obtained the advantages derived from the example or counsels of nations older or more fortunate than themselves in the career of social advancement.

From the state in which Mexican writing is known to us we are led to conclude, that one of the branches of the great family of this name, after having abandoned the central plains of Mexico, and established themselves in another part of that vast country, devoted themselves to agriculture and the social arts, and without more reflection than other nations have given under similar circumstances, made use of the earliest and most obvious mode of writing, namely, the figurative, or a simple linear representation of the object which was wished to be recalled to mind. Such a plan of writing, which is nothing else than drawing, is destitute of all the means of expressing individualities, and of the infinite resources of painting, which finds in a multiplicity of conventional signs the means of expressing ideas of time, place, and person, and of giving a material form to abstract moral and metaphysical notions.

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The Mexicans, nevertheless, have written their annals in some detail, and chronologically recorded in pictures, in the form of chronicles, the principal events of their history. If they desired to fix in writing the remembrance of the establishment of a distant colony, or of a conquest, they drew the figure of a town, with men departing, and at a distance another town, with men arriving; and the interval between the two towns was connected by a series of footmarks, indicating the route of the colonists. This at once speaks to the eye; the historical fact is materially painted. But it may be asked, how these two towns are individualized and distinguished, and what is the name of each, and also in what manner the name is expressed by such a painting?

In modern societies, which are a third or fourth *renaissance* of human civilization, and in which languages are the result of an universal mixture of nations, we can scarcely, or rather cannot at all, comprehend the privation of alphabetical writing, which, in expressing sounds, serves at the same time for all languages, ancient or modern, regular or unformed, and recalls to mind, without any confusion, the proper names of men and places. It was not so, however, in primitive times. Alphabetic writing was not then necessary; natural *objects* were *figured*, their names were their forms; and the proper names of persons being derived from these objects, they were also expressed by their figures. Thus, individuals who were called the Arrow, the House, the Mountain, the Wolf, the Lion, &c., were distinctly designated by the representation of these objects added to a human head, which latter became the *determinative sign*, shewing that it was intended to designate *men*, and not the *objects* thus named. In this manner is written the large folio volume which contains the individual census of the population of some Mexican villages; and by the same process the proper names of places

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were also indicated. The Mexicans went no further than this; having been acquainted only with the figurative signs representing the objects themselves, and the *symbolical signs*, entirely arbitrary, which helped to characterize and distinguish individuals. Subsequently, some signs acquired a phonetic value, analogous to that of our rebuses. Nevertheless, the Mexicans were established under a social policy as early as the seventh century of our era; the Toltec dynasty reigned at that period, and the *Sacred Book* was written, containing the description of heaven and earth, the cosmogony, the calendar, the migration of nations, the national mythology, and the precepts of morality; all the relative ideas of which were sufficiently expressed by their imperfect writing.

Such also was the state of this writing when Mexico was conquered, by the Spaniard Hernando Cortez, in 1521, and some specimens of it are given in the first Plate (CCXCIV.) The fragment No. 1, is copied from a Mexican book written on the agave, a kind of American aloe, the flexible leaves of which form, when fastened together, long rolls or books folded like a screen. The book, of which a page is here copied, is of this kind, but a layer of thin, hardened white chalk has been spread over the surface of the leaf, which then received the painting. It represents a subject of Mexican mythology.

The specimen No. 2 is taken from another manuscript on paper, containing several treatises, and especially the indication, month by month, of the days which are lucky, unlucky, or indifferent. The six squares contain the hieroglyphical signs of six days.

No. 3 is a portion of a roll of agave. It is supposed to contain a fragment of the Mexican annals; the signs are symbolical or syllabic rebuses.

The second Plate (CCXCV.) contains two texts in the Mexican language, written with the Latin alphabet, which has thrown into oblivion the ancient method, as well as the

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national traditions; the third specimen is in the Spanish language*.

All these specimens are copied from Mexican manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris†.

PLATE CCXCVI.

SEMEIOGRAPHY OF THE NEW WORLD.

QUIPOS, OR KNOTTED CORDS OF THE PERUVIANS.

When the enterprising spirit of Europeans, in the sixteenth century, led them to traverse vast oceans in search of continents previously hidden from their knowledge, they were rewarded by the discovery of a New World, where Nature exhibited herself in a gigantic form, even in her deformities; the greater portion of her productions was, indeed, devoid of the ostentatious refinement of Europe, whilst others seemed fitted to become alluring adjuncts to all the physical enjoyments of the Old World. The inhabitants of these remote regions were indebted, either to traditions of unknown origin, or to the natural progress of civilization, for regular forms of government and various institutions, in which were to be traced some elements of public policy; a religious system, usually the result of the former, and an industry, in which patience rather than genius, was called into action, created and perfected by neces-

* By a double error of the engraver, both Plates have been marked of the *fourteenth* and *fifteenth* centuries, instead of the *fifteenth* and *sixteenth* on the first Plate, and *sixteenth* and *seventeenth* on the second.—Ed.

† The second specimen in Plate CCXCIV. is taken from the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, a fac-simile of the whole of which is given in Lord Kingsborough's magnificent work on the *Antiquities of Mexico*, vol. i. 1830, together with an explanatory text in Spanish, vol. v.—Ed.

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sity; and, lastly, a system of writing, the signs of which expressed both actual ideas and recollections of the past.

In this important respect, however, the people of the New World were unequally endowed, when the Europeans visited or conquered them; and if the Mexicans had already advanced several steps in the art of representing ideas by signs, other nations had scarcely done more than imagine a rude method of fixing the most simple notions by figures, simply commemorative of the objects.

We dare not affirm that the Peruvians had advanced beyond this imperfect invention, and, notwithstanding the sort of enthusiasm which their *Quipos* have sometimes inspired, an attentive examination will shew them only to be one of the most insufficient of mechanical processes.

The Peruvian word *Quipu*, or *Quipo*, signifies knot, and and it was by means of knots that a certain number of ideas, especially of numbers, was expressed. Six pendant strings, attached at one end to another horizontal cord, formed a kind of fringe, and received as many knots as there were units to be expressed, from 1 to 9; and as each of the cords, according to its position, (commencing at the left,) respectively represented in round numbers the idea 100,000; 10,000, 1,000, 100, 10, and 1, the number of knots made on each string, multiplied by so many times the special number which it represented, and there was no number which could not thus be indicated.

It is said, that the Peruvians were able also to *write* in the same manner, and were able to express a number of ideas, constituting a phrase. For this purpose they employed threads of different colors, each having a particular signification; but as the number of colors is limited, so also must have been the significations*. This method, therefore, could

* A specimen of these knots, supposed to be one of the ancient Peruvian Quipos, is given in Lord Kingsborough's work, vol. iv.—Ed.

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not have possessed any general application, and could only have been used in the same manner as secret alphabets, cyphers, or other diplomatic signs, which required a key. Must we not, therefore, doubt the veracity of the historian and descendant of the Incas, Garcillasso de la Vega, when he asserts that the sovereigns of Peru understood without difficulty the reports addressed to them by the governors of provinces, by means of these ideographic threads of different colors, arranged in a certain order, and knotted?

The annals or nomenclature of the chief incidents of each year might be recorded on these strings by means of knots, but only in a summary manner; indeed, the same historian states, that the *Quipucamayus*, or keepers of the historical Quipos, studied to preserve by memory the details of those events of which the Quipos merely recalled to mind the simple mention. How, therefore, can we place any faith in the assertion of another historian of the Western Indies, Joseph d'Acosta, who asserts, that such was the skill of the natives in the use of these Quipos, that a Peruvian could make his confession in the most minute circumstances, by means of a handful of cord?

A member of the Academy della Crusca has carried the graphic power of the Quipos still further; he supposes a system of colored strings, the five principal of which should represent the five vowels, each of which should be dominant over certain consonants; as, for example, *A* over *b*, *c*, *d*; each group should be of the same color, and the blue cord with a knot would be *b*, because this letter is the first in the group of *A*, which is blue; and so on with the rest.

The science of the Peruvians, however, had not probably arrived at the invention of such a conventional alphabet; very amusing, doubtless, but which would require both drawing and colors to express signs.

The same academician invented also the Plate belonging

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to this notice, and framed an alphabet to it, which did not appear inconvenient, at least to himself. It has for its groundwork forty essential words, which he asserts are Peruvian; the first, *Pachacamac*, signifies God the Creator; and if it be required to write the last syllable, *mac*, four knots must be made on the string which conventionally represents the word Pachacamac!

It must not, however, be forgotten, that this fanciful academician invented this system for the amusement of the Duchess of S——, in 1750; and that the real Quipos of the Peruvians remain what they were, namely, one of the most imperfect graphic systems among those employed by the original inhabitants of the New World.

THE END.

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